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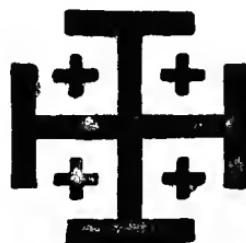
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VOL. IV.

A JOURNEY THROUGH SYRIA AND PALESTINE. BY  
NASIR-I-KHUSRAU.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF SAEWULF TO JERUSALEM.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE RUSSIAN ABBOT DANIEL.



LONDON :  
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1897.







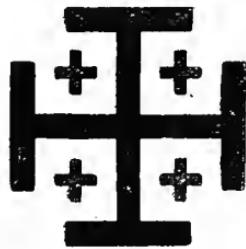
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DIARY OF A JOURNEY THROUGH  
SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

BY  
NÂSIR-I-KHUSRAU,  
= IN 1047 A.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN AND ANNOTATED BY  
GUY LE STRANGE.



LONDON:  
1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI.  
1888.

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M. J. G.



A. 8917.

## P R E F A C E.

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ABU MU'IN NASIR, the son of Khusrau, was born at a village in the neighbourhood of Balkh in the year 1003 A.D. (394 A.H.), and claimed to be descended, in the eighth degree, from Imâm Ali ar Rizâ, whose tomb, at the present day is shown in the Shrine at Mash-had.

During the earlier years of his life, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, it would appear, travelled through the northern provinces of India, and visited Multân, possibly in the service of Sultan Mahmûd of Ghazni, or of his son, Mas'ûd; for he alludes in one of his works to having attended the court of these princes. For a number of years, however, subsequent to these early travels, Nâsir-i-Khusrau stayed at home, and occupied a post of some importance in the administration of Ja'afar, or Jughri Beg—elder brother of the celebrated Tughrul Beg, founder of the Saljûkî dynasty—who was then governor of Khurasân.

From his own confession, Nâsir-i-Khusrau had all his life been somewhat addicted to the pleasures of the wine-cup. One night, however, as he was travelling on a tour of inspection, connected with the affairs of his office, in the provinces lying between Balkh and Marv, there

appeared to him in his sleep the vision of a holy personage, who admonished him to repent of his iniquities while there was yet time; and, at his question, indicated the pilgrimage to Mecca as the path most likely to conduce to his spiritual regeneration. This was in the year 1045 A.D. (437 A.H.), when Nâsir was aged forty-two. The vision made such an impression on his mind that he started immediately for Marv, made known his desire to set out on the pilgrimage, and after giving in his accounts, obtained his dismissal from the Beg's service. A few months later, in the spring of 1046, Nâsir—accompanied by his brother, and attended by a young Indian slave—set out from Marv on his pilgrimage to the Holy Cities.

In the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the power of the Fatimite Khalifs at Cairo was at its height. Mustansir billah was master of all the land of Egypt, as well as westward along the north African coast, and in Sicily; while his lieutenants governed not only the Hijjâz, with the two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, but also the greater part of Syria and Palestine, with the third Holy City of Jerusalem.

At Baghdad the Abbâside Khalif ruled, but the government was entirely in the hands of the Buyide princes, whose authority was recognised throughout Mesopotamia and Southern Persia. In Khurasân and the East, the Saljûk power was on the rise. Tughrul Beg had already defeated the Sultan of Ghuznî, and was now turning his arms against the Bani Marwân, and other princes who held semi-independent state in the north-western provinces of Persia, and in Upper Mesopotamia.

Such, then, in brief outline, was the condition of things political when our Pilgrim set out on his journey west. From Marv, going by the highroad through Sarakhs, he reached Nishapûr, at that time the seat of Tughrul Beg's government, and after a short stay set forth again, this time in company with the Sultan's secretary, who had business in the western provinces of the Saljûk Empire. They passed through Kumis to Damghân, and thence skirting the southern spurs of the great mountain-chain of the Elburz, and with the desert lying on the left hand, came to Ray (Rhages), the ruins of which may yet be seen a few miles south of the modern Tehrân. From Ray the route lay still along the mountain-skirts to Kasvîn, and thence crossing to Shemirân, the capital of the Tarim province, they went on to the great city of Tabriz, in Azerbijâن, the ancient Media. Toward the end of September, after spending some three weeks in the capital of Azerbijâن, Nâsir set out again, and, travelling along the southern shore of the Van Lake, reached Bitlis, in Armenia, having experienced some trouble in the mountain passes on account of the heavy falls of snow that had recently occurred. From Bitlis they journeyed on, passing through the pine forests that clothe the mountain-slopes in these parts, and by the last days of November reached Miyâfarikîn, the chief town of the province of Diyar Bakr. Nine leagues from Miyâfarikîn lay the fortress of Amid, by which our Pilgrim went, and thence took the caravan route across the fertile plains of Mesopotamia to Harrân, the chief town of Diyâr Modhar, which was reached in the last days of December, 1046. A day's journey from

Harrân brought him to Sarûj, and two days later, in the first days of January, 1047 A.D., he crossed the Euphrates to enter the province of Syria. The account Nâsir-i-Khusrau gives of his travels through Syria and Palestine is translated in full in the following pages. He remained four months in Syria and Palestine, and in the first days of May left Jerusalem for Mecca to be present at the Arafat ceremonies. Two months later, however, by the end of the first week of July, he was back again in Jerusalem, and shortly after set out by the land route for Egypt, arriving there in the first week of August, 1047. Nâsir-i-Khusrau's description of Egypt under the Fatimite Khalif, Al Mustansir, forms one of the most interesting sections of his work, but space forbids our entering into details. He stayed in Egypt eight months on his first visit, and in the middle of April, 1048, set out from Cairo at the season of the pilgrimage, and going down the Red Sea by boat, landed at Al Jâr, whence, after four days' march, he reached Medina. Being pressed for time, he only halted here a couple of days, and then took the road south to Mecca, where he accomplished the pilgrim rites, and returned with least possible delay to Egypt, since the whole of the Hijjâz was at this time suffering from the scourge of pestilence and famine. Two years later, in April, 1050, he finally left Egypt on his return journey to Persia, and, going up the Nile to Asiût, took the road to Aidhab, where he stayed for three months before crossing the Red Sea to Jiddah. This time he journeyed so leisurely that it was only in September that he once more reached Mecca. His description of this city is detailed and most interesting,

and he took part a second time in the pilgrim rites, sojourning there till May, 1051, when he set out across the great desert of Arabia for Lahsa, on the Persian Gulf. He was, however, detained during four months at Falaj, in Yamâmah, and thence, passing hurriedly through Lahsa, went on to Basrah, which was reached in December, 1051. Here Nâsir-i-Khusrau remained a couple of months to repose after the fatigues of his desert journey, and in the latter days of February, 1052, took ship for Mahrubân, off the coast of Fars. Our Pilgrim's route, from the coast up to Isfahân, lay through Errajân and the mountain passes of Western Fars. Setting out from Ispahan, in the last days of June, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, despite the heat and the lack of water, took the desert route by Nain, Tabûs, Tûn, and Kain, reaching Sarakhs by the 1st of October, and Marv on the 15th of the same month.

Without stopping more than a couple of days at Marv, Nâsir-i-Khusrau, accompanied by the brother who, it would appear, had kept with him during all the seven long years of his pilgrimage, set out hurriedly for Balkh, for he had heard that his third brother, Khâjih 'Abd ul Jalil, of whom he had had no news during all these years, was now living there in the service of Jughri Beg, the Amîr of Khurasân.

' It was Saturday, the 26th day of Jumâdi al Akhir, of the year 444 (that is, the 23rd of October, 1052), that we three brothers found ourselves once again united, and rejoiced in the sight each of the other. Oft had we abandoned all hope, and from manifold dangers experienced had despaired of life. But now we gave thanks to

God—be He praised and glorified!—for all that He had brought to pass; and that same day we all once again entered Balkh together.'

So ends the account of Nâsir-i-Khusrau's pilgrimage. But little is really known of his subsequent history, and we need not here enter into the discussion of whether or no the erotic and pantheistic poetry that was current under his name was actually written by him, or by some different person bearing somewhat the same name.

The MSS. used by me for this translation are two, both in the British Museum. Add. 18,418 is a small and beautifully written MS. in a neat Shikastah handwriting, which, however, is not very easy to read on account of the lack of the diacritical points. This MS. was copied in A.D. 1691 (Ramadân, A.H. 1102). Or. 1991, the other MS., is only a very meagre epitome of the foregoing, taken from a copy in the library of Nawwâb Ziyâ ad Dîn Khân, of Dehli; it has proved, however, useful for discovering the true reading of some of the proper names. The Persian text of the whole work, with a French translation, was published some years ago by the learned Orientalist, M. Ch. Schefer.\* I make no apology for having used his text (printed from one or two other MSS.) for the emendation of that afforded by the British Museum copies. The English translation now published is my own, and differs in many important points from his French version. In translating into a

\* 'Sefer Nameh : Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau,' publié, traduit et annoté par Ch. Schefer, Membre de l'Institut,' etc. Paris, 1881. An English translation of our Pilgrim's description of Jerusalem was published in vol. vi., n.s., p. 142, of the J. R. A. S. For archaeological purposes, however, this translation is almost useless.

Western tongue the description of buildings and places given us by a mediæval and Oriental pilgrim, a knowledge of the language merely does not suffice, and the translator has need, if possible, to be intimately acquainted with the buildings and places described, in order, from his personal recollections, now and again to add (in brackets) the few words of explanation needful to make the ancient description comprehensible. Further, I have thought it well to add such notes as were sufficient to identify the various proper names, and call attention to matters of more particular importance.

A few words may be said, in conclusion, regarding the measures and weights used by the Pilgrim in his Diary. The day's march he estimates at so many *Farsakhs*, which is the Greek *Parasang*, and is a distance varying between three and four miles (according to the road and the country), being what a caravan horse will walk in the hour. I have translated *Farsakh* by 'league,' and as the day's march is always reckoned by hours, this term is sufficiently exact for practical purposes. In his measurements of buildings our Pilgrim makes use of two units of length: namely, *Gez* and *Arsh*. The latter is the equivalent of the Arabic *Dhira'*, the cubit; while the *Gez* is generally reckoned to be longer than the cubit, and is given in the dictionaries as roughly equivalent to the English 'yard.' A careful comparison of the many passages in which our Pilgrim has used these terms has, however, shown me that with him they are synonymous terms, corresponding to a measure of somewhat under two English feet.\* I have been careful in my translation

\* See p. 29, n. †; p. 45, n. \*; p. 46, n. †.

to keep to the word ‘cubit’ for the Persian *Arsh*, while *Gez* is always rendered by our etymologically synonymous word ‘ell.’ The only measure of weight used is the *Mann*, which is equivalent to about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lb. avoirdupois, and one hundred of them go to the *Kharwar* or Ass-load. The coin in which the Pilgrim notes the price of various articles he comes across is the Maghribî, or Fatimite gold Dînâr, struck in Egypt, and current in all the western Muslim lands; its value may be roughly estimated at ten shillings.

In conclusion, I would express my grateful thanks to Col. Sir C. Wilson for the many valuable suggestions he has sent me, with permission to use them in the notes to the present Pilgrim. In Appendix C will be found a long note by him on the identification of the Gates of the Haram Area, in conformity with which I have written the notes to my translation.

G. LE S.

46, CHARLES STREET, MAYFAIR,  
*June, 1888.*

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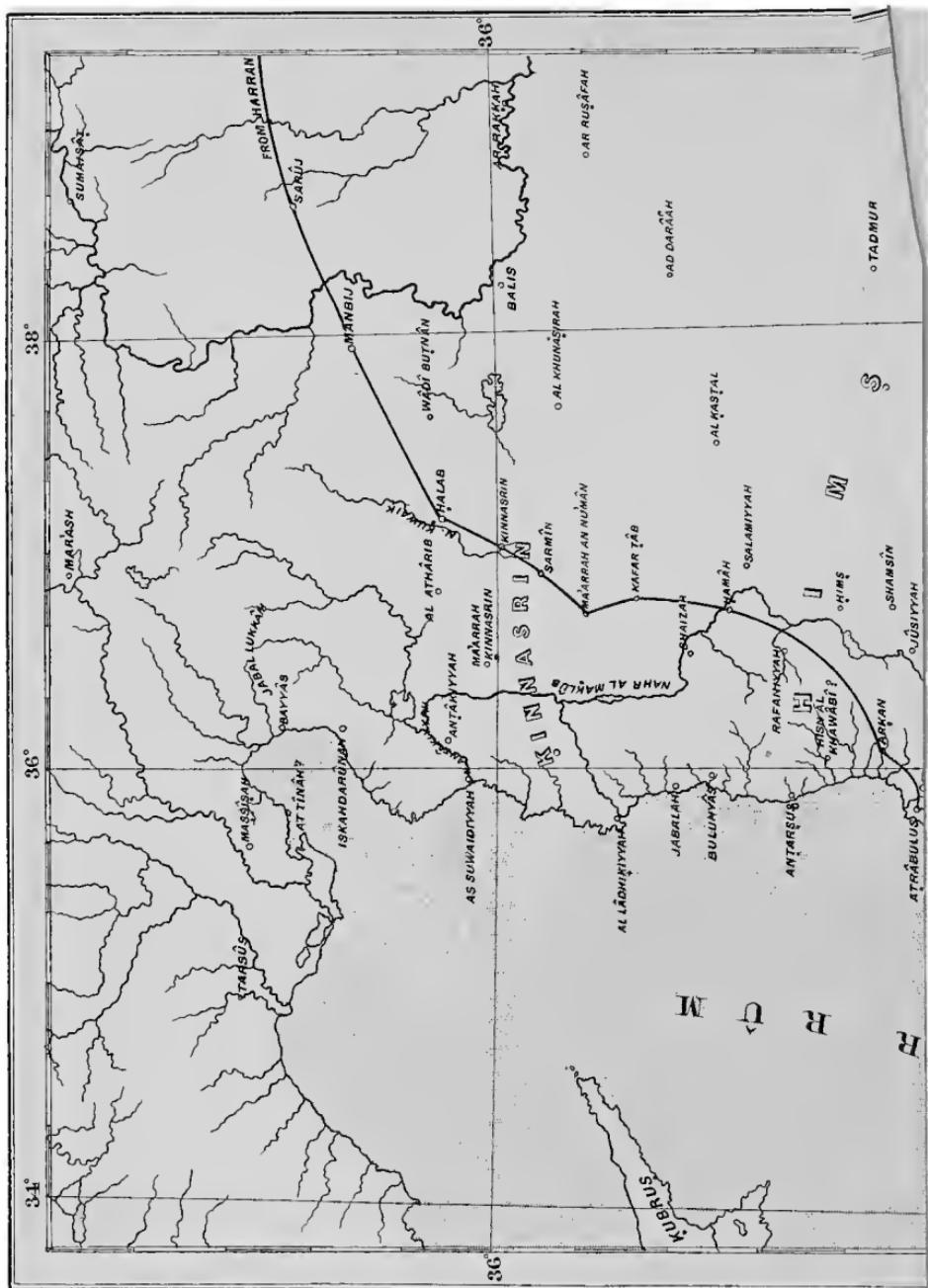
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## DIARY OF A JOURNEY THROUGH SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

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SATURDAY,\* the 2nd of Rajab of the year 438 (January 2, 1047 A.D.), we reached Sarûj, and the second day thence, having crossed the Euphrates, came to Manbij.† This is the first of the towns of Syria. It was now the month Bahman (January) of the ancient (Persians),‡ and the

\* According to Dr. Wüstenfeld's Tables, this day fell on a Friday.

† The ancient Hierapolis.

‡ As a good Muslim, our author, of course, dates his journal according to the Year of the Flight (with the Arabic months), which is lunar, and, therefore, fails to correspond with the seasons. The ancient Persian year of the Era of Yazdagird was, however, in use among his countrymen. It was solar, consisted of twelve months, of thirty days each (with five days intercalary), and began on the 21st of March of each year (Naurûz—New Year's Day), when the sun enters Aries.

The Persian months are :

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. Farwardîn (corresponding generally with April, but beginning on the 21st of March). |                        |
| 2. Ardibîhisht (May).  | 7. Mihr (October).     |
| 3. Khûrdâd (June).   | 8. Âbân (November).    |
| 4. Tîr (July).   | 9. Azur (December).    |
| 5. Murdâd (August).  | 10. Dai (January).     |
| 6. Shahrîwâr (September).  | 11. Bahman (February). |
| 12. Isfandârmuz (March).   |                        |

The Era of Yazdagird is dated from the first year of the reign of that king (A.D. 632), the last of the Sassanians.

weather in these lands was extremely pleasant. There are no buildings without the town of Manbij. Thence we journeyed to the city of Aleppo (Halab). From Miyâfârikîn\* to Aleppo is a hundred leagues (farsakh).

Aleppo appears a fine city. It has great walls, whose height I estimate at twenty-five cubits (ârsh); also a strong castle, entirely built on the rock, which I consider to be as large as the castle at Balkh. All the houses and buildings of Aleppo stand close one beside the other. This city is the place where they levy the customs (on merchandise passing) between the lands of Syria and Asia Minor, and Diyâr Bakr and Egypt and 'Irâk, and there come merchants and traders from out all these lands to Aleppo. The city has four gates, namely, Bâb al Yahûd (the Jews' Gate), Bâb Allah (the Gate of Allah), Bâb al Jinân (the Gate of Paradise), and Bâb Antâkiyah (the Gate of Antioch). The weight used in the bazaars of this place is the Dhâhirî Ratl (or pound),† which contains 480 dirhams weight.

Leaving Aleppo, and going south, after twenty leagues you reach Hamâ (Hamath), and then Hims (Emessa), after which Damascus, which last lies fifty leagues distant from Aleppo. From Aleppo to Antioch is twelve leagues, and to the city of Tarâbulus (Tripoli) is a like distance; and they say that to Kustantiniyyah (Constantinople) is two hundred leagues. We left the city of Aleppo on the 11th of Rajab (January 11), and, after marching three leagues, came to a village called, in particular, Kinnasrîn;‡

\* The chief city of the province of Diyâr Bakr, in Upper Mesopotamia.

† The Dhâhirî Ratl (from the Greek  $\lambdaιθρα$ ) is the pound weight instituted by the Fatimite Khalif Dhâhir li Izâzi Din Allah, who reigned from 1020 to 1035 A.D. Counting the dirham at  $47\frac{1}{2}$  English grains, this gives 22,800 grains, or about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  pounds.

‡ The ancient Chalcis. This is the reading of the Elliot Epitome

and the next day, after six leagues more, reached Sarmin, a town that is without walls.

Six leagues further we came to Ma'arrah an Nu'mân,\* which has a stone wall, and is a populous town. At the city gate I saw a column of stone on which something was inscribed in a writing other than Arabic. One whom I asked concerning it said it was a talisman against scorpions, and thereby no scorpion could ever come into or abide in the town; and even were one to be brought in, and then set free, it would flee away and not remain in the place. The height of this column, according to my estimation, might be ten cubits. The bazaars of Ma'arrah an Nu'mân I saw full of traffic. The Friday Mosque is built on a height, in the midst of the town, so that from whatever side it may be you would enter the Mosque, you go up thereto by thirteen steps. The arable land belonging to the town is all on the hillside, and is of considerable extent.† There are here also fig-trees and olives, and pistachios and almonds and grapes in plenty. The water for the city is from the rains, and also from wells.

There was living here (at this date) a certain personage called Abu 'l 'Alâ Ma'arrî, who, though sightless, was the chief man of the city. He possessed great wealth, and slaves, and very numerous attendants; for it was as

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and the B. M. MS. Kinnasrîn was also the name of the whole district. For *Khâssah Kinnasrin*, 'Kinnasrîn in particular,' M. Schefer's text reads *Jund Kinnasrîn*, i.e., 'the province of Kinnasrîn'; but *Jund Kinnasrin* cannot be the name of the town; and the reading of our MS. is certainly to be preferred.

\* So called after Nu'man ibn Bashîr, a Companion of the Prophet, to distinguish it from the other Ma'arrahs.

† Thus in the B. M. MS. M. Schefer's text reads 'Their arable land grows wheat.' (*Gandum-ast* instead of *Kûh-ast*.) But the above is more likely to be the correct reading, since wheat is in no way peculiar to Ma'arrah, and the town does stand on a height surrounded by hills. (See Baedeker, 'Syria and Palestine,' 1876, p. 559.)

though all the inhabitants of the city were of his people. As for himself, he had adopted the way of the ascetics, being clothed in a rug (*gilimi*), sitting quiet in his house, and taking for his daily bread half a *Mann* (or about one and a half pound) of barley bread, and beyond this eating nothing more. As I heard, the gate of his house is ever open, and his lieutenants and servants do regulate the affairs of the city, but in all matters take reference to him for orders. He refuses of his goods to no man, and, the while, himself remains fasting by day and constant in prayer by night; for he is occupied in no worldly affairs (of his own). This personage, too, has attained such renown as poet and writer that the learned of Syria, Maghrib and Irâk, all agree that no one of these days is his equal, nor can be. He has written a book under the name of 'Al Fusûl wa-l Ghâyat' (The Divisions and Conclusions), wherein enigmatical words are employed, with such wonderful and eloquent conceits and similitudes that it is only a very small part thereof that one can understand, and that only when one may have perused the work under the author's direction. (So enigmatical and wonderful is this book) that they even calumniate him by averring that he has attempted therein to rival the Kurân itself. There are continually with him some two hundred persons, come from all parts of the world, to attend his lectures on poesy and diction; and I heard that he had himself written over 100,000 couplets. A certain one inquired of him why, since God—may He be praised and magnified!—had endowed him with all this wealth and goods, was it that he thus gave all to other men and used none for himself. The answer was, 'No more than what I must eat, can I take.' Now when I passed through Ma'arrâh this Abu 'l Alâ was still living.\*

\* Abu 'l Alâ was born in A.D. 973, and died in 1057. His biography is given in Ibn Khallikân's 'Biographical Dictionary' (trans-

Rajab, the 15th of the year 438 (January 15th, 1047), we came from Ma'arrah an Nu'mân to Kafar Tâb;\* and thence on to the city of Hamâ (Hamath), which is a well-populated city on the bank of the river 'Âsi (Orontes). This stream is called the 'Âsi (meaning, 'the Rebel'), for the reason that it flows towards the Greek territory; that is to say, it is a Rebel to go from the Lands of Islâm to the Lands of the Infidel. They have set up numerous waterwheels on its banks.

From Hamâ onwards there are two roads; one towards the sea-coast, lying through the western parts of Syria; and one directly south, going to Damascus. We went by the coast-road, and in the mountains saw a spring which, they say, flows with water once a year, when the middle day of the (lunar) month of Sha'âbân is past. It continues running for three days, after which it gives out not a single drop of water more until the next year.† A great many people visit this place in pilgrimage, seeking propitiation whereby to approach God—may He be praised and glorified!—and they have constructed here a building and a water-tank. When we had passed by this place, we came to a plain‡ that was everywhere covered with

lated by De Slane, vol. i., p. 94): and Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum, has published his life and works under the title of *De Abul Alæ Poetæ Arabici Vita et Carminibus, etc.*, Bonnæ, 1843.

\* The name is plainly written in the B. M. MS. The Elliot Epitome has Kûmât, and M. Schefer's text *Kuwaimât*, which he rightly conjectured to be a clerical error for the above-mentioned town.

† This is the source of the Sabbatical River of antiquity, visited by Titus (Josephus' 'Wars,' vii. 5, 1). It is at the present day called *Fawwârah ad Dair*, 'The Fountain of the Convent,' i.e. of Mar Jirjis (St. George), alluded to by our author in the lines following. Josephus asserts that the spring ceases to flow on Saturdays. The Muslims of the present day say Fridays.

‡ The *Bukai'ah*, called in Crusading chronicles *La Boquie* of Krak des Chevaliers, *Kal'at al Husn* (and not to be confounded with the *Bik'a* plain of Cœlo-Syria).

narcissus flowers in bloom, and the whole plain appeared white thereby ; and from their very profusion had we to ride on, coming at last to a town called 'Arkah.\* After we had passed 'Arkah two leagues, we came to the shore of the sea, and taking our way southward along the coast, after five leagues, reached the city of Tripoli (Tarâbulus).

From Aleppo to Tripoli is forty leagues, and, by the way we marched, we reached the latter city on Saturday, the 5th of Sha'abân (February 6th). The whole neighbourhood of the town is occupied by fields, and gardens, and trees. The sugar-cane† grows here luxuriously, as likewise orange and citron trees;‡ also the banana, the

\* The city of the Arkites (Gen. x. 17), and the 'Arcados' of the Crusaders.

† The cultivation of the sugar-cane in the West spread from Khuzistân in Persia, and throughout the Middle Ages Shuster (the ancient Susa) was renowned for its manufacture on a large scale. The art of sugar-refining was very extensively practised by the Arabs, and under their rule the growth and manufacture of the cane spread far and wide, from India to Morocco, and was introduced to Europe through the Muslim dominions in Spain and Sicily.

‡ The careful researches of Gallesio have proved that India was the country from which the orange spread to Western Asia, and eventually to Europe. From remote antiquity the orange has been cultivated in Hindustan, and before the close of the ninth century the bitter variety seems to have been well known to the Arabs, who had introduced it into the countries of South-western Asia. The Arab historian, Mas'ûdi, who wrote in the year 943 A.D. (332 A.H.), has the following account of the introduction of orange and citron trees. The translation is from vol. ii., p. 438, of M. B. de Meynard's text, published by the Société Asiatique :

'The orange-tree (*Shafar an nâranj*) and the tree bearing the round citron (*al utruj al mudawwar*) were brought from India, since the year 300 A.H. (912 A.D.), and were first planted in 'Omân. Thence they were carried *via* Al Basrah into 'Irâk and Syria, whereby they have become very numerous in the houses of the people of Tarsûs and other of the Syrian frontier towns : also in Antioch and in all the

lemon, and the date. They were, at the time of our arrival, extracting the juice of the sugar-cane. The town of Tripoli is so situate that three sides thereof are on the sea, and when the waves beat, the sea-water is thrown up on to the very city walls. The fourth side, which is towards the land, is protected by a mighty ditch, lying eastward of the wall, in which opens an iron gate, solidly built. The walls are all of hewn stone, and the battlements and embrasures are after the like work. Along the battlements are placed balistæ (*arrâdah*), for their fear is of the Greeks, who are wont to attempt the place in their ships. The city measures a thousand cubits long, by the like across. Its hostelries are four and five stories high, and there are even some that are of six. The private houses and bazaars are well built, and so clean that one might take each to be a palace for its splendour. Every kind of meat and fruit and eatable that ever I saw in all the land of Persia, is to be had here, and a hundred degrees better in quality. In the midst of the town is the great Friday Mosque, well kept, and finely adorned, and solidly constructed. In the Mosque court is a large dome, built over a marble tank, in the middle of which is set a brazen fountain. In the bazaar, too, they have made a watering-place, where, at five spouts, is abundant water for the people to take from; and the overflow, going along the ground, runs into the sea. They say there are twenty thousand men in this city, and the place possesses many adjacent territories and villages. They make here very

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Syrian coast towns, with those of Palestine and Egypt, where, but a short time ago, they were unknown. The fruits, however, have lost their original perfume and flavour, as also the fine colour they have in India, and this is because of the change from their own peculiar soil, and the climate and the water.'

good paper,\* like that of Samarkand, only of better quality.

The city of Tripoli belongs to the (Fatimite) Sultan of Egypt. The origin, as I was told, of this is that when, a certain time ago, an army of the Infidels from Byzantium had come against the city, the Muslims from Egypt came and did fight the Infidels, and put them to flight. The Sultan of Egypt has remitted his right to the land-tax (*kharâj*) in the city. There is always a body of the Sultan's troops in garrison here, with a commander set over them, to keep the city safe from the enemy. The city, too, is a place of customs, where all ships that come from the coasts of the Greeks and the Franks, and from Andalusia, and the Western lands (called *Maghrib*), have to pay a tithe to the Sultan; which sums are employed for the rations of the garrison. The Sultan also has ships of his own here, which sail to Byzantium and Sicily and the West, to carry merchandise. The people of Tripoli are all of the Shî'ah sect. The Shî'ahs in all countries have built for themselves fine mosques. There are in this place houses like Ribâts (which are caravanserais, or watch-stations), only that no one dwells therein on guard, and they call them Mash-hads (or places of martyrdom). There are no houses outside the city of Tripoli, except two or three of the Mash-hads that are above described.

And after this, leaving the city of Tripoli, we journeyed along the seashore, our faces towards the south; and after a league or so of the way I saw a fortress called Kalamûn,†

\* This is the *Charta Damascena*, or *bombycina*, of the Middle Ages—cotton-paper, which the Arabs had first learnt to make after taking Samarkand in A.D. 704. Although as early as the tenth century (A.D.) *bombycinum* was used at Rome, cotton-paper did not come into general use in Europe much before the middle of the thirteenth century, and *linen*-paper was first made in the fourteenth century.

† The village of Kalamûn exists at the present day, and represents

within which there is a spring of water. From here we came on to the town of Tarâbarzan,\* which lies five leagues distant from Tripoli; which passed, we went on to the town of Jubail.† This last is a city built in the form of a triangle, one angle lying out to sea, and surrounding it are high, well-built walls. All round the town are date-palms, and other trees of a warm region. I met a boy there who had in his hand two roses, one red, one white, and both already full-blown, though it was still but the 5th day of the month Isfandârmuz (or March) of the ancient Persians, being in the Persian era (of Yazdagird) the year 415.‡

From Jubail we came on to Bairût. Here I saw an arch of stone so great that the roadway went out through it; and the height of the arch I estimated at fifty ells (*Gez*).§ The side walls of the arch are built of white stone, and each block must be over a thousand Manns (or about a ton and a half) in weight. The main building is of unburnt brick, built up a score of ells high. Along the

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the *Calamos* of Pliny, and the *Calamon* which, according to Polybius, was destroyed by Antiochus. The B. M. MS has *Bû Kalamûn*.

\* This name, which is very clearly written in identically the same way in all the MSS., is possibly, as M. Schefer suggests, a mistaken reading in the author's note-book for Batrûn (the classical Botrys), which, for position, would agree with the distances given. I should, however, be disposed (considering now *all* the MSS. give Tarâbarzan), perhaps, to consider the name in the MSS. as a corruption of *Theouprosopon*, the Greek name for the promontory (N. of Batrûn), now known as Râs ash Shakkah. *Theouprosopon*, written in Arabic characters (*Tûbarsabûn*), might more easily become *Tardâbarzan* than this last be a corrupt reading for *Batrûn*, which was a perfectly well-known town.

† The Hebrew *Gebal*, the Greek *Biblos*, and the *Giblet* of the Crusading chroniclers.

‡ See *ante* (p. 1, note ‡).

§ This must have been the remains of one of the baths or theatres with which Herod Agrippa embellished Berytus; or, possibly, of the celebrated College.

top of the same are set marble columns, each eight \* ells tall, and so thick that with difficulty could two men with their arms stretched embrace the circumference. Above these columns they have built arcades, both to right and to left, all of stones, exactly fitted, and constructed without mortar or cement. The great centre arch rises up between, and towers above the arcades by a height of fifty cubits. The blocks of stone that are used in the construction of these arches, according to my estimate, were each eight cubits high and four cubits across, and by conjecture each must weigh some seven thousand Manns (or about ten tons). Every one of these stones is beautifully fashioned and sculptured after a manner that is rarely accomplished, even in (soft) wood.

Except this arch no other (ancient) building remains. I inquired in the neighbourhood what might have been the purpose thereof; to which the people answered that, as they had heard tell, this was the Gate of Pharaoh's garden; also that it was extremely ancient. All the plain around this spot is covered with marble columns, with their capitals and shafts. These were all of marble, and chiselled, round, square, hexagonal, or octagonal; and all in such extremely hard stone that an iron tool can make no impression on it. Now, in all the country round there is apparently no mountain or quarry from which this stone can have been brought; and, again, there is another kind of stone that has an appearance of being artificial,† and, like the first stone, this, too, is not workable with iron. In various parts of Syria there may be seen some five hundred thousand columns, or capitals and shafts of

\* The B. M. MS. may read 'twenty Gez,' but this is doubtless a clerical error.

† Referring doubtless to basalt or granite, of which ancient columns are frequently found.

columns, of which no one now knows either the maker, or can say for what purpose they were hewn, or whence they were brought.

From Bairût we came on to the city of Sidon (Saidâ), likewise on the seashore. They cultivate here much sugar-cane. The city has a well-built wall of stone, and four gates. There is a fine Friday Mosque, very agreeably situated, the whole interior of which is spread with matting in coloured designs. The bazaars are so splendidly adorned that, as I first saw them, I imagined the city to be decorated for the arrival of the Sultan, or in honour of some good news. When I inquired, however, they said it was customary for their city to be always thus beautifully adorned. The gardens and orchards of the town are such that one might say each was a pleasance laid out at the fancy of some king. Kiosks are set therein, and the greater number of the trees are of those kinds that bear fruit.

Five leagues from Sidon we came to Tyre (Sûr), a town that rises on the shore of the sea. They have built the city on a rock (that is in the sea), after such a manner that the town-wall, for one hundred yards only, is upon the dry land, and the remainder rises up from out the very water. The walls are built of hewn stone, their joints being set in bitumen in order to keep the water out. I estimated the area of the town to be a thousand (cubits)\* square, and its caravanserais are built of five and six stories, set one above the other. There are numerous fountains of water; bazaars are very clean; also great is the quantity of wealth exposed. This city of Tyre is, in fact, renowned for wealth and power among all the maritime cities of Syria. The population for the most part

\* *Arsh* is, I suppose, to be understood. None of the MSS. give the measure employed.

are of the Shī'ah sect, but the Kādī (or judge) of the place is a Sunni. He is known as the son of Abu 'Akīl, and is a good man, also very wealthy. They have erected a Mash-had (a shrine, or place of martyrdom) at the city gate, where one may see great quantities of carpets and hangings, and lamps and lanterns of gold and silver. The town itself stands on an eminence. Water is brought thereto from the mountain; and leading up to the town-gate they have built arches (for the aqueduct), along which the water comes into the city. In these mountains is a valley,\* over against this city, and running eastward, through which, after eighteen leagues, you come to the city of Damascus.

After leaving Tyre, we travelled seven leagues, and came to the township of Acre ('Akkah), which, in official documents, is named Madīnat 'Akkah. The city stands on an eminence, the ground sloping, but in part level; for all along this coast they only build towns where there is an elevation, being in terror of an encroachment of the waves of the sea. The Friday Mosque at Acre is in the centre of the town, and rises taller than all the other edifices. All its columns are of marble. To the right hand, outside the mosque, and towards the Kiblah (south), is the tomb of the Prophet Sālih †—peace be upon him!

The court of the mosque is partly paved with stone, and the other part is sown with green herbs; for they say it was here that Adam—peace be upon him!—first practised husbandry. I made a measurement of the city; its length is two thousand ells, and its breadth five hundred ells. Its walls are extremely strong, and to the west and

\* This must be the valley of the Battâf, along which ran the road from Acre to Damascus.

† According to the Kurān (ch. vii., ver. 71), Sālih was the prophet sent to convert the tribe of Thaimûd. He is variously identified with the Peleg of Gen., ch. xi., ver. 16, or the Schelah of ver. 13.

south is the sea. On the southern side is what is called the Mînâ (or Port). Now, most of the towns upon this coast have a Mînâ, which same place is constructed for the harbouring of ships. It resembles, so to speak, a stable, the back of which is towards the town, with the side-walls stretching out into the sea. Seaward, for a space of about fifty ells, there is no wall, but only chains stretching from one wall's end to the other. When they wish to let a ship come into the Mînâ, they slack the chains until they have sunk beneath the surface of the water sufficient to let the ship pass over them (into the harbour); then they tighten up the chain again so as to prevent any strange vessel coming in to make an attempt against the ships.\* Outside the eastern gate, and on the left-hand, is a spring, to which you descend by twenty-six steps before reaching the water. This they call the 'Ain al Bakar (the Ox Spring),† relating how it was Adam—peace be upon him!—who discovered this spring, and gave his oxen water therefrom, whence its name of 'the Ox Spring.'

When you leave this township of Acre and go eastwards, you come to a mountain region,‡ where there are various places of martyrdom of the prophets—peace be upon them!—and this region lies aside from the road of him who would travel to Ramlah. It had ever been my intention to visit these holy sepulchres, and seek to obtain thereby a blessing before God—may He be exalted and glorified! and since the people of Acre told me that there were in those parts along the roads disorderly men, who set upon any-

\* For a description of the Port of Acre and the method of its construction, see p. 30 of 'Mukaddasi.'

† This 'Ox Spring' was a place held sacred by Jews, Muslims, and Christians alike, and was a place of visitation. The Muslims had built a mosque here, dedicated to 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, the eastern part of which the Crusaders made into a church.

‡ The mountainous region of Lower Galilee.

one whom they saw to be a stranger in order to rob him of everything that he had, I therefore deposited the money I had with me in the mosque of Acre before setting out from that city by the eastern gate on Saturday\* the 23rd of Sha'abân, of the year 438 (22nd February, 1047). The first day I went and visited the tomb of 'Akkah,† who is the founder of the city of Acre ('Akkah), a very pious and great personage. Now, I had no guide with me who knew the road, and I became somewhat bewildered, when suddenly by the mercy of God—may He be exalted and glorified!—on that first day I met a Persian of the province of Azerbaijân,‡ who, already once before having made the visitation to these blessed sepulchres, had now come into those parts a second time with a like intention. In thankfulness for the favour that God—may He be exalted and glorified!—had thus vouchsafed to me, I made a prayer of two prostrations (*rik'ahs*), beseeching Him in my orisons that He would grant to me grace to fulfil all the pious intentions that I had formed.

So proceeding, we came to a village named Birwah,§ and I made my visitation of the tombs, which are seen there, of 'Ish (Esan), and Sham'ûn (Simeon)—peace be on them both! From Birwah we went on to Dâmûn,|| where there is a small cavern; here I also made visitation, for they say it is the sepulchre of Dhu'l Kifl ¶—peace be on him!

\* A Sunday, according to the Tables.

† M. Schefer's text reads '*Akk*'; the two MSS. of the B. M. give the name as above.

‡ The North-western province of Persia, corresponding to the ancient Media.

§ The B. M. MS. reads 'Barzan' in error. Birwah and Tell Birwah lie about three miles to the east of Acre.

|| Due south of Birwah. The B. M. MS. reads in error *Dâmi'* for Dâmûn, which last is found in M. Schefer's text.

¶ The prophet, Dhu'l Kifl, according to Muslim tradition, was the son of the patriarch Job.

Thence we passed to another village, called A'bilîn,\* where there is the tomb of Hûd—peace be upon him!—which I visited. Within the enclosure here is a mulberry-tree;† and there is likewise the tomb of the prophet 'Uzair‡—peace be upon him!—which I visited. And thence, going in a southerly§ direction, we came to a village called Hadhîrah; and opening to the west of this village is a valley. In this valley is a spring of clear water gushing out from a rock, and over against the spring, and upon the rock, they have built a mosque. In this mosque are two chambers built of stone, with the ceiling likewise of stone; the door of the same is so small that a man can only enter with difficulty. Within there are two tombs, placed close side by side, one of which is that of Shu'aib|| (Jethro)—peace be upon him!—and the other that of his daughter, who was the wife of Musa

\* This name in the B. M. MSS. is corrupted to Akhir 'Anân. A'bilîn lies south of Dâmûn. Guérin considers A'bilîn to represent the ancient Zabulon, destroyed by Cestius. The Muslim prophet Hûd is the Biblical Eber. He was sent to convert the ancient 'Adites, who, refusing to listen to him, were destroyed by a burning wind ('Kurân,' ch. vii., ver. 63).

† Khartûl. M. Schefer reads *Kharnâb*—the carob, or St. John's Bread.

‡ Ezra, or Esdras. 'Kurân,' ch. ix., ver. 30, 'Moreover, the Jews say, "Uzair is the Son of God." According to Muslim tradition, Ezra was raised to life after he had been a hundred years dead, and dictated to the scribes (from memory) the whole Jewish law, which had been lost during the Captivity.'

§ The direction is, I think, mistaken, and we should read 'eastward.' There are several places in these regions north and west of Irbid that have at the present day the name of Hadhîrah (Hazûr, Hazîreh), which, meaning merely an 'enclosure' (the Biblical 'Hazoroth'), is applicable to many sites.

|| See 'Kurân,' ch. vii., ver. 83. The tomb of Shu'aib (Jethro) is now shown on the Mountain of Hattîn, so celebrated in tradition as the Mount of the Beatitudes, and also in history as the battle-field where the Crusaders were defeated by Saladin.

(Moses)—on him, too, be peace ! The people of the village are assiduous in keeping the mosque and the tombs swept clean, and in the setting here of lamps and other such matters. From this place we went on to a village called Irbil,\* on the south side of which rises a mountain ; and on the mountain is an enclosure, which same contains four graves—those of the sons of Ya'kûb (Jacob)—peace be upon him!—who were brothers of Yûsuf† (Joseph)—upon him, too, be peace ! And going onward I came to a hill, and below the hill a cavern, in which was the tomb of the mother of Moses—peace be upon him!—and I made my visitation there also.

Leaving this place, we came down a valley, at the further end of which were visible the lake and the city of Tabariyyah (Tiberias), upon the shore of the same. The length of the lake (of Tiberias) I would estimate at six leagues, and its breadth may be three. The water of the lake is sweet and of good flavour. The town lies on the western shore. The waters from the hot springs near by, and the drainage water of the houses, all flow into the lake ; and yet the population of the city, and of the places along the shores of the lake, do none the less all of them drink of the waters thereof. I heard that once upon a time a certain governor of the city gave orders that they should prevent the refuse of the city and the sewerage from draining thus into the lake. But (after his orders were carried out) the water of the lake itself became fetid, so as to be no longer fit for drinking ; and on his ordering that the sewers should again be allowed to open therein, the lake water became once more sweet as afore-

\* Now generally called Irbid. It is the site of the ancient Arbela.

† Yakût, in his 'Geographical Dictionary' (Text, i. 184), mentions these tombs, and states them to be those of Dan, Issachar, Zebulon, and Gad.

times. The city has a strong wall, that beginning at the borders of the lake goes all round the town; but on the water side there is no wall. There are numberless buildings erected in the very water, for the bed of the lake in this part is rock; and they have built pleasure-houses that are supported on columns of marble, rising up out of the water. The lake is very full of fish. The Friday Mosque is in the midst of the town. At the gate of the mosque is a spring, over which they have built a hot-bath, and the water of this spring is so hot that until it has been mixed with cold water you cannot bear to have it poured over you. They say this hot-bath was built by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon them both!—and I myself did visit it. There is, too, on the western side of the town of Tiberias a mosque known as the Jasmine Mosque (*Masjid-i-Yâsmin*). It is a fine building, and in the middle part rises a great platform (*dukkân*), where they have their Mihrâbs (or prayer niches). All round those they have set jasmine shrubs, from which the mosque derives its name. In the colonnade, on the eastern side, is the tomb of Yûsha' ibn Nûn (Joshua the son of Nun), and underneath the great platform aforesaid are shown the tombs of the Seventy Prophets—peace be upon them!—whom the children of Israel slew. South of Tiberias lies the (Dead Sea, or) Lake of Lût (Lot). The waters of this last lake are salt, although the (fresh) waters of the Lake of Tiberias flow down into it. The cities of Lot were along its borders, but no trace of them remains. A certain person related to me that in the salt waters of this lake there is a substance which gathers itself together from the foam of the lake, and is black, with the likeness in form to a bull's (carcass floating). This stuff (which is asphalt) resembles stone, but is not so hard. The people of the country gather it and break it in pieces, sending

it to all the cities and countries round. When the lower part of a tree is covered with some of this (asphalt), no worm will ever do the tree a harm. In all these parts they preserve the roots of the trees by this means, and thus guard against the damage to the gardens that would arise from worms and things that creep below the soil. The truth, however, of all this rests on the credibility of the word of him who related it to me. They say, too, that the druggists also will buy it, for they hold that a worm, which they call the 'Nuktah,' attacks their drugs, and that this (asphalt) preserves therefrom. In the town of Tiberias they make prayer-mats of reeds, which sell in the place itself for five Maghribī Dīnārs (or over £2) a piece. On the west of the city rises a mountain, upon which has been built in hewn stone a castle,\* and there is there an inscription in Hebrew characters, stating that, at the time it was cut, the Pleiades stood at the head of the zodiacal sign of the Ram. The tomb of Abu Hurairah (the Prophet's companion) lies† outside the

\* These must be the ruins of Herod's Castle, now called 'Kasr Bint al Malik' (the Palace of the King's Daughter), lately visited and described by Herr Schumacher in the P.E.F. *Quart. State.* of April, 1887.

† The celebrated Abu Hurairah, one of the Prophet's companions, died in A.H. 57 (A.D. 677), at 'Akīk. His body was taken into Madīnah and buried in the well-known cemetery of Al Baki'—so say the Arab historians. (Cf. Ibn Khallikan's 'Biographical Dictionary,' translated by De Slane, i. 570.) In confirmation of our Pilgrim's account that his tomb was in old times shown at a village near Tiberias, is 'a stone of 'Ajūn marble,' measuring 2 feet 7 inches by 2 feet, lately discovered in this neighbourhood by Herr Schumacher. It bears on its face an Arabic inscription to the following effect (see *Quart. State.*, P.E.F., April, 1887, p. 89) : 'In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Say : He is one God—God the Everlasting ! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten, and there is none like unto Him ("Kurān," ch. cxii). This is the Tomb of Abu Hurairah, the companion of Allah's apostle : upon whom be Allah's peace and His blessing.'—In the place where this stone was discovered Herr

city, towards the south, but no one can go and visit it, for the people who live here are of the Shi'ah sect, and as soon as anyone comes to make the visitation, the boys begin a tumult, and raise a disturbance about him that ends in stone-throwing, wherefrom some injury results. This was the cause that I did not make my visitation to this place ; but turning aside I proceeded on to a village that is called Kafar Kannah.\* To the southward of this village is a hill, on the top of which they have built a fine monastery. It has a strong gate, and the tomb of the Prophet Yûnis (Jonas)†—peace be upon him!—is shown within. Near by the gate of the monastery is a well, and the water thereof is sweet and good. When I had made my visitation at this place, I came on thence to Acre, which is four leagues distant, and remained in that city for a day.

And afterwards, leaving Acre, we went on to a village called Haifâ, the road all the way lying over the sands, the sand here being of the kind that the goldsmiths of Persia make use of in their business, and know under the name of 'Mekkah sand.' This village of Haifâ lies on

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Schumacher noted traces 'of an ancient mosque ;' unfortunately, however, he does not state anything concerning the appearance and age of the characters used in this interesting epitaph. Yâkût, writing about the year A.D. 1225, in his great 'Geographical Dictionary,' at the end of the article on *Tiberias* (Text, vol. ii., p. 512), likewise notes that 'on the slope of the hill of Tabariyyah is a tomb which they say is the tomb of Abu Hurairah—Allah accept him !—though his tomb is also (found) at Al Bakî and at Al 'Akîk (at Madinah).' In his article on (Jabneh or Jabneel) *Yubnâ* (op. cit., vol. iv., p. 1007), Yâkût, however, again notes that in this town also is a tomb said by some to be that of Abu Hurairah.

\* One of the rival sites identified by ecclesiastical tradition with the Cana of Galilee (St. John ii. 1-11). The ruins of a church are still shown in the neighbourhood, and probably formed part of the monastery (*Sâmi'ah*), referred to by our Pilgrim.

† The name of the prophet is omitted in both the B. M. MSS.

the seashore, and there are here palm-gardens and trees in numbers. There are in this town shipbuilders, who build very large craft; the sea-going ships of this place are known under the name of 'Jūdī.' Leaving Haifā, we proceeded on to a village called Kanīsah,\* and beyond this the road leaves the seashore and enters the hills, going eastward through a stony desert place, which is known under the name of Wādī Tamāsih (or the Valley of Crocodiles).† After passing two leagues, however, the road turns back, and goes once more along the sea-beach, and in these parts I saw great quantities of the bones of marine monsters, set in the earth and clay, and become, so to speak, petrified by the action of the waves that beat over them. Passing these, we arrived at the city named Kaisariyyah (Cæsarea), which lies seven leagues distant from Acre.

Cæsarea is a fine city, with running waters and palm-gardens, and orange and citron trees. Its walls are strong, and it has an iron gate. There are fountains that gush out within the city; also a beautiful Friday Mosque, so situated that in its court you may sit and enjoy the view of all that is passing on the sea. There is preserved here a vase made of marble, that is like to Chinese porcelain, and it is of a size to contain a hundred Manns weight of water (or about thirty-four gallons).

On Saturday, the last day of the month of Sha'abān (29th February), we set forth again, travelling over the sand that is of the kind aforesaid, called 'Mekkah sand,' and coming, after a time, to a place where I saw many fig-trees and olives; for all the road here lies through a

\* Kunaisah (the Little Church), or Tell Kanīsah, a few miles N. of Athlīt. The Crusaders considered this to be the site of Capernaum.

† This is the valley of the Crocodile River (Pliny), now known as the Nahr Zarkā, or 'Blue River.'

country of hills and valleys. After travelling thus for several leagues, we reached a city called Kafar Sâbâ, also Kafar Sallâm.\* From this city on to Ramlah is but three leagues, and all along the way are trees of the kinds above described.

Sunday, the day of the new moon of the month of Ramadân (the 1st of March), we came to Ramlah. From Cæsarea to Ramlah is eight leagues. Ramlah is a great city, with strong walls built of stone, mortared, of great height and thickness, with iron gates opening therein. From the town to the sea-coast is a distance of three leagues. The inhabitants get their water from the rainfall, and in each house is a tank for storing the same, in order that there may always be a supply. In the middle of the Friday Mosque, also, is a large tank ; and from it, when it is filled with water, anyone who wishes may take. The area of the mosque measures two hundred paces (*Gám*) by three hundred. Over one of its porches (*suffah*) is an inscription stating that on the 15th of Muharram, of the year 425 (10th of December, 1033 A.D.), there came an earthquake† of great violence, which threw down a large number of buildings, but that no single person sustained an injury. In the city of Ramlah there is marble in plenty, and most of the buildings and private houses are of this material ; and, further, the surface

\* Our Pilgrim is, of course, mistaken in writing of Kafar Sâbâ and Kafar Sallâm as one and the same place (the MSS. all read as in the text). Kafar Sâbâ still exists. Kafar Sallâm has entirely disappeared from the present maps, but its site is probably that of *Râs al'Ain*, the Antipatris of Acts xxiii. 31, and Josephus. Mukaddasi mentions both towns separately (see p. 60 and note 5 of the 'Translation'), and gives their respective distances from Ramlah as in each case one day's march.

† This earthquake is mentioned by the Arab annalists, who state that a third of Ramlah was thrown down, the mosque in particular being left a mere heap of ruins.

thereof they do most beautifully sculpture and ornament. They cut the marble here with a toothless saw, which is worked with 'Mekkah sand.' They saw the marble in the length, as is the case with wood, to form the columns; not in the cross; also they cut it into slabs. The marbles that I saw here were of all colours, some variegated, some green, red, black, and white. There is, too, at Ramlah, a particular kind of fig, than which no better exists anywhere, and this they export to all the countries round. This city of Ramlah, throughout Syria and the West, is known under the name of Filastîn.\*

On the 3rd of Ramadân (3rd March) we left Ramlah, and travelled to a village, called Latrûn(?)†, and from there on to another village, called Kariat-al-'Anab.‡ By the wayside I noticed, in quantities, plants of rue (*Sadâb*), which grows here of its own accord on these hills, and in the desert places. In the village of Kariat-al-'Anab there is a fine spring of sweet water gushing out from under a stone, and they have placed all around troughs, with small buildings contiguous (for the shelter of travellers). From this village we proceeded onward, the road leading upward, and I had imagined that we should come to a mountain; and then, going down on the further side, that we should arrive at the Holy City. But after we had continued our

\* Ramlah was the Arab capital of the province of Filastîn (Palestine), and as such was often referred to under the name of its province. The same is the usage with regard to Shâm (Damascus or Syria), Misr (Cairo or Egypt), and other places. Major Fuller begins his translation (J.R.A.S., vol. vi., N.S., p. 142) at this point.

† In M. Schefer's text and the B. M. MSS. this name is written Khâtûn, a mistake, doubtless, as the French savant remarks, for Latrûn, which is *Castrum boni Latronis*, the village of the penitent thief, according to the Crusading chronicles.

‡ 'The Village of Grapes.' It is said to be the Biblical 'Baalah, which is Kirjath-jearim,' which Mukaddasi (p. 34 of the 'Translation') calls *Bâlî'ah*.

upward road some way, a great plain opened out in front of us, part of which was stony, and part of it good soil; and here, as it were, on the summit of the mountain, lay before our view Bait al Mukaddas (the Holy City). From Tripoli, which is by the seashore, to the Holy City is fifty-six leagues; and from Balkh to the Holy City, eight hundred and seventy-six leagues. It was the 5th of Ramadân, of the year 438 (5th March, 1047 A.D.), that I thus came to the Holy City; and the full space of a solar year had elapsed since I set out from home, having all that time never ceased to travel onward, for in no place had I yet sojourned to enjoy repose. Now, the men of Syria, and of the neighbouring parts, call the Holy City (Bait al Mukaddas) by the name of Kuds (the Holy); and the people of these provinces, if they are unable to make the pilgrimage (to Mekkah), will go up at the appointed season to Jerusalem, and there perform their rites, and upon the feast day slay the sacrifice, as is customary to do (at Mekkah on the same day). There are years when as many as twenty thousand people will be present at Jerusalem during the first days of the (pilgrimage) month of Dhu-l Hijjah; for they bring their children also with them in order to celebrate their circumcision.

From all the countries of the Greeks, too, and from other lands, the Christians and the Jews come up to Jerusalem in great numbers in order to make their visitation of the Church (of the Resurrection) and the Synagogue that is there; and this great Church (of the Resurrection) at Jerusalem we shall describe further on in its proper place.

The country and villages round the Holy City are situated upon the hillsides; the land is well cultivated, and they grow corn, olives, and figs; there are also many kinds of trees here. In all the country round there is no (spring) water for irrigation, and yet the produce is very

abundant, and the prices are moderate. Many of the chief men harvest as much as 50,000 Manns weight (or about 16,800 gallons) of olive-oil. It is kept in tanks and in pits, and they export thereof to other countries. It is said that drought never visits the soil of Syria. I heard from a certain person, on whose word I can rely, that the Prophet—peace be upon him, and the benediction of Allah!—was seen in a dream by a saintly man, who addressed him, saying, ‘O Prophet of God, give me assurance for ever of my daily bread;’ and the Prophet—peace be upon him!—replied: ‘Verily it shall be warranted unto thee, even by the bread and oil of Syria.’

I now purpose to make a description of the Holy City. Jerusalem is a city set on a hill, and there is no water therein, except what falls in rain. The villages round have springs of water, but the Holy City has no springs. The city is enclosed by strong walls of stone, mortared, and there are iron gates. Round about the city there are no trees, for it is all built on the rock. Jerusalem is a very great city, and, at the time of my visit, there were in it twenty thousand men. It has high, well-built, and clean bazaars. All the streets are paved with slabs of stone; and wheresoever there was a hill or a height, they have cut it down and made it level, so that as soon as the rain falls the whole place is washed clean. There are in the city numerous artificers, and each craft has a separate bazaar. The mosque lies at the (south) east quarter of the city, whereby the eastern city wall forms also the wall of the mosque (court). When you have passed out of the mosque, there lies before you a great level plain, called the Sâhirah,\* which, it is said, will be the place of the

\* The B. M. Epitome is the only MS. that spells this name right. Other MSS. have *Sâmirah*. As *Sâhirah*, ‘the Plain’ is the level space occupying the northern portion of the Mount of Olives.

Resurrection, where all mankind shall be gathered together. For this reason men from all parts of the world come hither to make their sojourn in the Holy City till death overtakes them, in order that when the day fixed by God—be He praised and exalted!—shall arrive, they may thus be ready and present at the appointed place.

O God ! in that day do Thou vouchsafe to Thy servants both Thy pardon and Thy protection ! Amen. O Lord of both worlds !

At the border of this plain (of the Sâhirah) there is a great cemetery, where are many places of pious renown, whither men come to pray and offer up petitions in their need. May God—be He praised and glorified!—vouchsafe unto them their desires. Grant unto us also, O God, our needs, and forgive our sins and our trespasses, and have mercy upon us, O most Merciful of the merciful !

Lying between the mosque and this plain of the Sâhirah is a great and steep valley, and down in this valley, which is like unto a fosse, are many edifices, built after the fashion of ancient days. I saw here a dome cut out in the stone, and it is set upon the summit of a building. Nothing can be more curious than it is, and one asks how it came to be placed in its present position. In the mouths of the common people it goes by the appellation of Pharaoh's House.\* The valley of which we are speaking is the Wâdî Jahannum.† I inquired how this name came to be applied to the place, and they told me that in the times of the Khalif Omar—may Allah receive him in

\* The building alluded to is the so-called Tomb of Absalom, down in the Kedron Valley, just below the S. E. angle of the Haram Area. At the present day also it goes by the name of *Tantûrah Fira'ûn*, or Pharaoh's Cap.

† This Valley of Gehenna is not the Jewish valley of that name, but the Valley of Kedron or Jehoshaphat (see note 4 to p. 4) of Mukad-dasi).

grace!—the camp (of the Muslims, who had come up to besiege Jerusalem) was pitched here on the plain called Sâhirah, and that when Omar looked down and saw this valley, he exclaimed, ‘Verily this is the Valley of Jahannum.’ The common people state that when you stand at the brink of the valley you may hear the cries of those in Hell which come up from below. I myself went there to listen, but heard nothing.

Going southward of the city for half a league, and down the gorge, you come to a fountain of water gushing out from the rock, which they call the 'Ain Sulwân (the Spring of Siloam). There are all round the spring numerous buildings; and the water therefrom flows on down to a village, where there are many houses and gardens. It is said that when anyone washes from head to foot in this water he obtains relief from his pains, and will even recover from chronic maladies. There are at this spring many buildings for charitable purposes, richly endowed; and the Holy City itself possesses an excellent Bîmâristân (or hospital), which is provided for by considerable sums that were given for this purpose. Great numbers of (sick) people are here served with potions and lotions; for there are physicians who receive a fixed stipend, and attend at the Bîmâristân.\*

The Friday Mosque (which is the Aksâ) lies on the east side of the city, and (as before noticed) one of the walls of the mosque (Area) is on the Wâdî Jahannum. When you examine this wall, which is on the Wâdî, from the outside of the mosque, you may see that for the space of a hundred cubits it is built up of huge stones, set without mortar or cement. Inside the mosque (Area) it is level all along the summit of this wall. The (Aksâ) mosque occupies

\* The MS. of the Epitome breaks off here, leaving out the remainder of the description of Jerusalem.

the position it does because of the stone of the Sakhrah. This stone of the Sakhrah is that which God—be He exalted and glorified!—commanded Moses to institute as the Kiblah (or direction to be faced at prayer). After this command had come down, and Moses had instituted it as the Kiblah, he himself lived but a brief time, for of a sudden was his life cut short. Then came the days of Solomon—upon him be peace!—who, seeing that the rock (of the Sakhrah) was the Kiblah point, built a mosque round about the rock, whereby the rock stood in the midst of the mosque, which became the oratory of the people. So it remained down to the days of our Prophet Muhammad, the Chosen One—upon him be blessings and peace!—who likewise at first recognised this to be the Kiblah, turning towards it at his prayers; but God—be He exalted and glorified!—afterwards commanded him to institute, as the Kiblah, the House of the Ka'abah (at Mekkah).\* The description of the rock will be given below, in its proper place. Now, it was my desire to obtain the measurements of the (Haram Area round the) mosque; and I said to myself, First I will come exactly to know the place in all its aspects, and see the whole thereof, and afterwards will I take the measurements. But after passing some time in the Noble Sanctuary, and examining it, I came on an inscription upon a stone of an arch in the north wall (of the Haram Area), not far from the Dome of Jacob (Kubbat Ya'kûb)†—on whom be peace! In this inscription the length of the Haram Area

\* In the early days of the Hijrah, when the Prophet had fled to Medina, and for a time had thoughts of abandoning Mekkah and its Ka'abah, he directed his followers to pray facing in the direction of Jerusalem. It was only in Rajab, A.H. 2, that the Ka'abah was definitely instituted as the Muslim Kiblah.

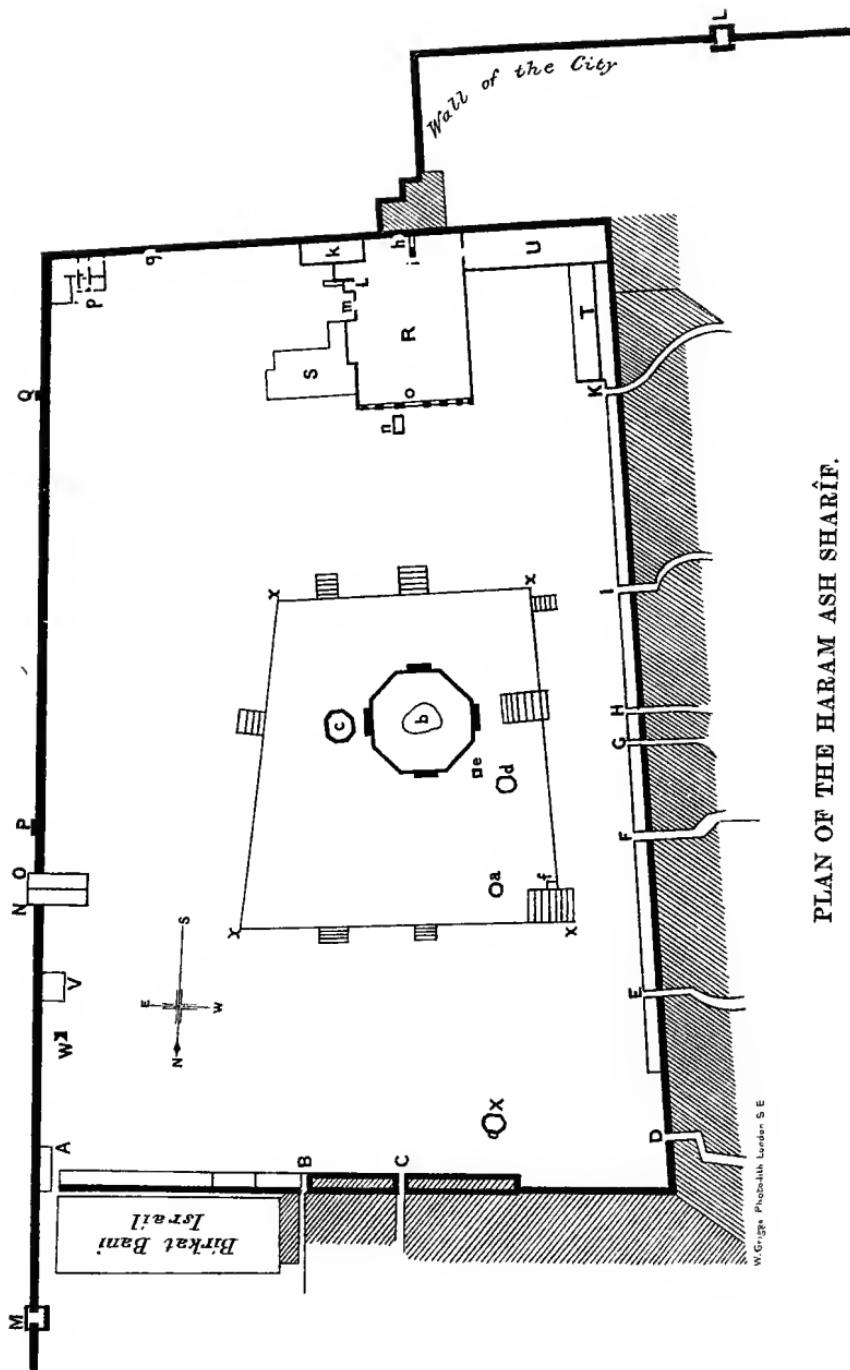
† The small building to the south of the present Bâb al 'Atm (Plan, C);

## REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.\*

- A. Bâb al Asbât (Gate of the Tribes).
- B. Bâb Hittah (of Remission).
- C. Bâb Sharaf al Anbiyâ (of the Glory of the Prophets) or Ad Dawâdariyyah (of the Secretariat), or Al 'Atm (of Darkness).
- D. Bâb al Ghawânimah.
- E. Bâb an Nâdhîr (of the Inspector), later of 'Alâ ad Dîn al Busîrî.
- F. Bâb al Hadîd (of Iron).
- G. Bâb al Kattânîn (of the Cotton Merchants).
- H. Bâb al Mutawaddâ (of the Place for Ablution).
- I. Bâb as Silsilah (of the Chain), or As Sakînah (of the Shechinah).
- K. Bâb al Maghâribah, or An Nabi (of the Mogrebins, or of the Prophet).
- L. City Gate, called Bâb al Maghâribah ; and by the Franks the Dung Gate.
- M. City Gate, Bâb Sitti Maryam ; and by the Franks the Gate of St. Stephen.
- N. Bâb at Taubah (of Repentance) }  
O. Bâb ar Rahmah (of Mercy) } Golden Gate.
- P. Bâb al Burâk or Al Janâiz (of the Funerals).
- Q. Pillar in the Wall, marking the place of the Bridge As Sirât.
- R. Jâmi' al Aksâ.
- S. Madrasah al Farsiyyah.
- T. Jâmi' al Maghâribah.
- U. Aksa al Kadîmah (ancient Aksa).
- V. Kursi Sulaimân (Solomon's Throne).
- W. Makâm Iliyâs or Khidr (Station of Elias or St. George).
- X. Kursî 'Isâ (Throne of Jesus).
- x, x, x, x. Platform of the Rock.
  - a. Kubbat al Alwâh (Dome of the Tablets).
  - b. The Rock.
  - c. Kubbat as Silsilah (D. of the Chain).
  - d. Kubbat al Mirâj (of the Ascension).
  - e. Kubbat Jibrail (Gabriel).
  - f. Kubbat al Khidr (St. George).
  - g. Mihrâb Daûd (David's Prayer-niche).
  - h. Great Mihrâb of the Aksa Mosque.
  - i. Mimbar (Pulpit).
  - k. Jâmi' 'Omar.
  - l. Mihrâb Zakariyyah (Prayer-niche of Zachariah).
- m. Eastern Door of Mosque.
- n. Well of the Leaves.
- o. Great Gate of the Mosque.
- p. Mahd 'Isâ (Cradle of Jesus).

\* This represents the Haram Area as it exists at the present day ; and is reduced from the Plan of the Ordnance Survey (Pal. Expl. Fund), with additions from the work of M. de Vogüé.

WÂDÎ JAHANNUM. VALLEY OF KEDRON OR JEHOSSHAPHAT.



PLAN OF THE HARAM ASH SHARÎF.

AT JERUSALEM, WITH THE EXISTING BUILDINGS.  
*From the Pal. Expl. Fund Survey.*



was set down at seven hundred and four cubits (*arsh*), and the breadth at four hundred and fifty-five cubits, of the royal measure.\* The royal ell (*gez-i-malik*) is the same as that which is known in Khurasân as the Gez-i-Shâigân (the King's Ell), and is equivalent to one and a half of the (common) cubits (*arsh*), or a fraction the less.† The area of the Noble Sanctuary is paved with stone, the joints being set in lead.

(As we have said before) the Haram Area lies in the eastern part of the city; and through the bazaar of this (quarter) you enter the Area by a great and beautiful (*Dargâh* or) gateway, that measures thirty ells in height, by twenty across. This gateway has two wings, in which open halls, and the walls of both gateway and halls are adorned with coloured enamels (*Minâ*), set in plaster, cut into patterns, so beautiful that the eye becomes dazzled in contemplating them. Over the gateway is an inscription, which is set in the enamels, giving the titles of the Sultan (who is the

\* The identical slab with the inscription mentioned by the Pilgrim was discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in 1874, in the north wall of the Area, a little west of the Bâb al 'Atm. Part of the inscription, however, has become damaged. It runs as follows : 'In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful ; the length of the Masjid is seven hundred and four and ... ty ells, and its breadth is four hundred and five and fifty ells, the ell being the ell of ...' According to M. Ganneau's view, the space for the Arabic word representing the tens in the enumeration of the length will only allow of the number having been originally 'eighty' or 'thirty.' M. Schefer (on the authority of M. Alric, Chancelier du Consulat de France à Jerusalem) states that the inscription may still be clearly read—'length 750 ells, breadth 455 ells, of the royal ell.' All the MSS. of our Pilgrim agree in the numbers—704 and 455—for the length and breadth. The author of the 'Muthir al Ghîrâm,' who saw the inscription in A.D. 1351 (and whose text is copied by both Suyûti and Mujir ad Dîn), gives the figures as 784 and 455. For further notices of this inscription see a paper in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1887, p. 270.

† In this passage *gez* (ell) and *arsh* (cubit) are used as synonymous terms.

Fatimite Khalif) of Egypt, and when the sun's rays fall on this it shines so that the sight is bewildered at the splendour thereof. There is also a great dome that crowns this gateway, which is built of squared stones.\* Closing the gateway are two carefully-constructed doors. These are faced with Damascene brass-work, which you would take to be gold, for they are gilt, and ornamented with figured designs. Each of these doors is fifteen ells in height, by eight ells across. The gateway we have just described is called the Bâb Dâd (the Gate of David)†—peace be upon him! After passing this gateway (and entering the Haram Area), you have on the right two great colonnades (*riwâk*),‡ each of which has nine-and-twenty marble pillars, whose capitals and bases are of coloured marbles, and the joints are set in lead. Above the pillars rise arches, that are constructed of masonry, without mortar or cement, and each arch is constructed of no more than five or six blocks of stone. These colonnades lead down to near the Mâksûrah (or main building of the Aksa Mosque).§ On your left hand (as you enter the Gate of David), and towards the north, there is likewise a long colonnade, with sixty-four arches, supported by marble pillars. In this part of the wall there is also a gate called Bâb as Sakar (the Gate of Hell).||

\* M. Schefer's text here and in several other places gives *Munhadîm* ('destroyed') for *Muhandam* ('squared by the rule'), as the word is correctly written in the margin of the B. M. MSS.

† This is the gate which is now called *Bâb as Silsilah*, the Gate of the Chain (Plan, I).

‡ These colonnades go along the western wall of the Haram Area.

§ The main building of the Aksa Mosque is often referred to by our Pilgrim under the denomination of the 'Mâksûrah,' which more properly is the name given to the railed oratory for the Sultan which the mosque contains.

|| *Bâb as Sakar*, the Gate of Hell, is probably the present Bâb an Nâdhîr (Plan, E).

The greater length of the Haram Area extends from north to south, but if the space occupied by the Maksûrah (or Aksa Mosque) be deducted, the shape of the court is square, with the Kiblah point lying towards the south.

In the north part (of the Haram Area) is a double gateway, the gates of which are side by side, each being seven ells across by twelve high. This gateway is called the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes). When you have passed this gateway, there is still another great gateway in the breadth of the Harâm Area (which is the north wall) in the portion running eastward.\* There are here three gates side by side, of a like size to the Bâb al Asbât, and they are each fashioned in iron, and adorned with brass, than which nothing can be finer. These (three) gates they call the Bâb al Abwâb (the Gate of Gates), for the reason that, whereas elsewhere the gateways are only double, there is here a triple gateway. Running along the north part of the Haram Area, and between the two gateways just mentioned, is a colonnade, with arches that rest on solid pillars; and adjacent thereto a dome that is supported by tall columns, and adorned with lamps and lanterns. This is called Kubbat Ya'kûb (the Dome of Jacob) †—peace be upon him!—for at this spot was his place of prayer. And further, along the breadth (or northern wall) of the Haram Area is a colonnade, in the wall of which is a gate that leads to two cloisters (*daryûzah*), belonging to the Sûfîs, who have

\* From our Pilgrim's description (and the texts of all the MSS. agree in this passage), the gateway he calls 'the Gate of the Tribes,' would be that now known as Bâb Hittah (Plan, B); while the present Gate of the Tribes at the N. W. angle (Plan, A) is named by him 'the Gate of Gates.' See Appendix C.

† This building still exists close to the south of the Bâb al 'Atm (Plan, C), which last must be the gate said by our Pilgrim to lead to the cloisters of the Sûfîs.

their place of prayer here, and have built a fine Mihrâb (or oratory). There are always in residence a number of Sûfîs, who make this (oratory) the place of their daily devotions, except on Friday, when they go into the Noble Sanctuary, in order to attend the service of prayer therein. At the north (west?) angle (*rukñ*) of the Haram Area is a fine colonnade, with a large and beautiful dome. On this dome there is an inscription, stating that this was the oratory (Mihrâb) of Zakariyyâ,\* the prophet—peace be upon him! —for they say that he was wont to continue ceaselessly in prayer at this spot. In the eastern wall of the Haram Area there is a great gateway† skilfully built of squared stones, so that one might almost say the whole was carved out of a single block. Its height is fifty ells, and its width thirty; and it is sculptured and ornamented throughout. There are ten beautiful doors (*dar*) in this gateway (set so close), that between any two of them there is not the space of a foot. These doors are all most skilfully wrought in iron and Damascan brass work, set in with bolts and rings. They say this gateway was constructed by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon him!—to please his father. When you enter this gateway facing east, there are on your right-hand two great doors. One of them is called Bâb ar Rahmah (the Gate of Mercy), and the other Bâb at Taubah (the Gate of Repentance); and they say of this last that it is the gate where God—be He exalted and glorified!—accepted the repentance of David—upon whom be peace! Near this gateway is a beautiful mosque.‡ In former times it was only a hall

\* Zachariah's Mihrâb is at present shown at a niche in the eastern wall of the Aksa Mosque (Plan, I). It is impossible to identify the place mentioned in the text with any building at present standing.

† This is the so-called Golden Gate (Plan, N and O).

‡ This I understand to refer to a building occupying the position of what is now known as Kursî Sulaimân, the Throne of Solomon (Plan, V).

(*dahliz*), but they turned the hall into a mosque. It is spread with all manner of beautiful carpets, and there are servants especially appointed thereto. This spot is greatly frequented of the people, who go to pray therein, and seek communion with God—be He exalted and glorified!—for this being the place where David—peace be upon him!—was vouchsafed repentance, other men may hope to be turned likewise from their sinfulness. They relate that David—peace be upon him!—as he crossed the threshold to enter this building, had, through divine revelation, the joyful news that God—glory and praise be to Him!—accepted of his repentance; and thereupon David halted at this spot and worshipped. And I, Nâsir, also stationed myself to pray here, and besought of God—be He praised and glorified!—to give me grace to serve Him and repent of my sins.

May God—be He exalted and glorified!—grant grace to all His servants whom He hath received in favour; and for the sake of Muhammad and his family, the Pure Ones, vouchsafe to all repentance of their sins!

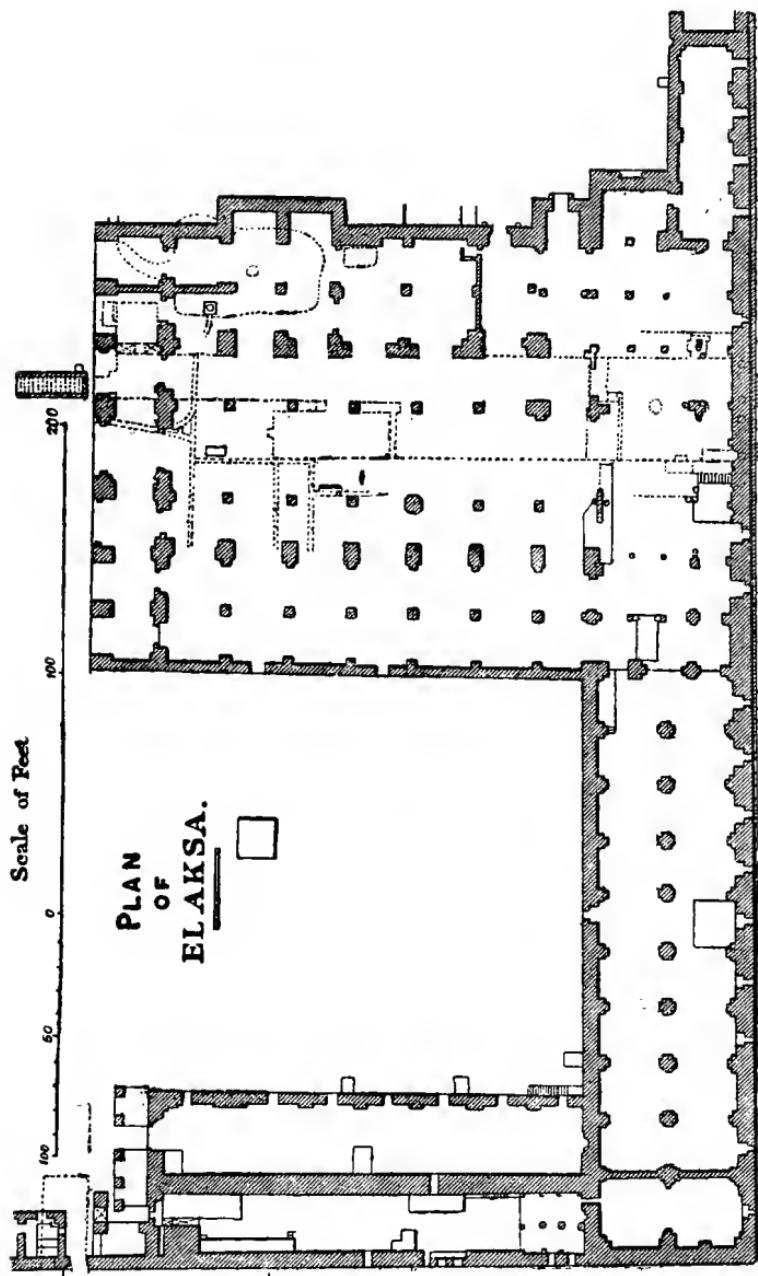
Adjacent to the east wall, and when you have reached the south (eastern) angle (of the Haram Area)—the Kiblah point lying before you, south, but somewhat aside—there is an underground mosque, to which you descend by many steps.\* It is situated immediately to the north of the (south) wall of the Haram Area, covering a space measuring twenty ells by fifteen, and it has a roof of stone, supported on marble columns. Here was the Cradle of Jesus. The cradle is of stone, and large enough for a man to make therein his prayer prostrations. I myself said

\* These substructures at the S. E. angle of the Noble Sanctuary are on the foundations of what appears to have been an old corner tower, and lie adjacent to what were known to the Crusaders under the name of Solomon's Stables. At the present day they are still shown as the 'Cradle of Jesus' (Plan, p).

my prayers there. The cradle is fixed into the ground, so that it cannot be moved. This cradle is where Jesus was laid during his childhood, and where He held converse with the people. The cradle itself, in this mosque, has been made the Mihrâb (or oratory); and there is likewise, on the east side of this mosque, the Mihrâb Maryam (or Oratory of Mary); and another Mihrâb, which is that of Zakariyyâ (Zachariah)—peace be upon him! Above these Mihrâbs are written the verses revealed in the Kurân that relate respectively to Zachariah and to Mary. They say that Jesus—peace be upon Him!—was born in the place where this mosque stands. On the shaft of one of the columns there is impressed a mark as though a person had gripped the stone with two fingers; and they say that Mary, when taken in the pangs of labour, did thus with one hand seize upon the stone. This mosque is known by the title of Mahd 'Isâ (the Cradle of Jesus)—peace be upon Him!—and they have suspended a great number of lamps there, of silver and of brass, that are lighted every night.

After passing the entrance to this mosque, near by the (south-east) angle of the east wall (of the Haram Area), you come to a great and beautiful mosque, which is other than that called the Cradle of Jesus, and is of many times its size. This is called the Masjid al Aksâ (or the Further Mosque), and it is that to which Allah—be He exalted and glorified!—brought His chosen (Apostle) in the night journey from Mekkah, and from here caused him to ascend up into Heaven, even as is adverted to in the words of the Kurân, ‘I declare the glory of Him who transported His servant by night from the Masjid al Haram’ (the Sacred Temple at Mekkah) ‘to the Masjid al Aksâ’ (the temple that is more remote at Jerusalem).\* On this

\* ‘Kurân,’ ch. xvii., ver. 1.



spot they have built, with utmost skill, a mosque. Its floor is spread with beautiful carpets, and special servants are appointed for its service, to serve therein continually.

From the (south-east) angle, and along the south wall (of the Haram Area) for the space of two hundred ells, there is no building, and this is (part of) the court (of the Haram Area). The main building (of the Aksa Mosque)\* is very large, and contains the Maksûrah (or space railed off for the officials), which is built against the south wall (of the Haram Area). The length of the western side of the main building (of the Aksa) measures four hundred and twenty cubits, and the width of it is one hundred and fifty cubits.† The Aksa Mosque has two hundred and eighty marble columns, supporting arches that are fashioned of stone, and both the shafts and the capitals of the columns are sculptured. All joints are riveted with lead, so that nothing can be more firm. Between the columns measures six ells, and the mosque

\* The Persian word, *Pâshish*, 'covered part,' corresponds with the Arabic term, *Mughatta*, which has the same signification. The 'covered part' of a mosque is the main building over the great Mihrâb, and the pulpit, in front of which public worship is performed, and is so-called to distinguish this part from the mosque court with its minor chapels and colonnades, all of which, however, are considered to form a necessary part of the mosque (*Masjid*), and to be included under the general term.

† These are the figures in the B. M. MS., which are also those of M. Schefer's translation. His text, however, runs as follows, and differs both from his translation and the text of the B. M. MS.: 'The main building of the (Aksa) mosque is very large. Its length is four hundred and *eight* cubits, and the Maksûrah lies to the right hand against the south wall. The western side of the main building measures *four* hundred and fifty cubits in the width.' The figures, however, in both versions are much in excess of the true measurements. (See Appendix A.)

is everywhere flagged with coloured marble, with the joints likewise riveted in lead. The Maksûrah is facing the centre of the south wall (of the Mosque and Haram Area), and is of such size as to contain sixteen columns. Above rises a mighty dome \* that is ornamented with enamel work, after the fashion to be seen in other parts of the Noble Sanctuary. In this place there is spread Maghribî matting, and there are lamps and lanterns, each suspended by its separate chain.

The great Mihrâb (or prayer niche towards Mekkah) is adorned with enamel work,† and on either side the Mihrâb are two columns of marble, of the colour of red carnelian. The whole of the low wall round the Maksûrah is built of coloured marble. To the right (of the Great Mihrâb) is the Mihrâb of (the Khalif) Mu'âwiyah, and to the left is the Mihrâb of (the Khalif) Omar—may Allah grant him acceptance! The roof of the (Aksa) Mosque is constructed of wood, beautifully sculptured. Outside the doors and walls of the Maksûrah, and in the parts lying towards the court (of the Haram Area) are fifteen gateways (*dargâh*), each of which is closed by a finely-wrought door, measuring ten ells in height by six ells in the breadth. Ten of these doorways open in the (east) wall (of the mosque), which is four hundred and twenty cubits in length, and there are five in the width (or north wall) of the mosque, that measures one hundred and fifty

\* In 425 A.H. (1033), the dome of the Aksa Mosque had been seriously damaged by a shock of earthquake. It was restored next year by order of the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, Ad Dhâhir, the work, according to the extant inscription in the Dome, having been terminated in the month Dhû l Ka'adah, 426 A.H. (September, 1035), that is, less than eleven years prior to our Pilgrim's visit.

† The present Mihrâb only dates from the time of Saladin, who restored the whole of the Aksa Mosque, after retaking the Holy City from the Crusaders.

cubits.\* Among these gates there is one of brass, most finely wrought and beautiful, so that one would say it was of gold set in with fired-silver (*niello?*) and chased.† The name of the Khalif Al Mamûn is upon it,‡ and they relate that Al Mamûn sent it from Baghdâd. When all these gates of the mosque are set open the interior of the building is light, even as though it were a court open to the sky. When there is wind and rain they close these gates, and then the light comes from the windows.

Along all the four sides of the main building (of the Aksa Mosque) are chests (*sandûk*) that belong each to one of the various cities of Syria and 'Irâk, and near these the Mujâwirân (or pilgrims who are residing for a time in the Holy City) take their seat, even as is done in the Harâm Mosque at Mekkah—may Allah, be He glorified! ennable the same.

Beyond the main building (of the Aksâ), along the great (south) wall (of the Haram Area) afore mentioned, rises a colonnade of two and forty arches, the columns being all of coloured marble. This colonnade joins the one that is along the west (wall of the Area).§ Inside the main building (of the Aksa) there is a tank in the ground which,

\* The fifteen gates are mentioned by Mukaddasi (Translation, p. 42), who, however, states that these were *all* on the *north* side of the mosque, adding that eleven others opened on the *east* side. (See Appendix A.)

† This is 'the Great Brazen Gate,' mentioned by Mukaddasi *loc. cit.*

‡ M. Schefer is, I believe, incorrect when he states in a note to his Translation (p. 81, note 2), that this inscription of Al Mamûn is extant. It is certainly not reproduced by M. de Vogué in his work on *Le Temple de Jérusalem* (p. 86), which is the reference given by M. Schefer, and I can find no mention of it elsewhere.

§ See above (p. 30). This is in the place afterwards occupied by the hall erected by the Knights Templars for their armoury, and which at the present opens from the Aksa Mosque, and is called Baka'at al Baidha, or Aksa al Kadîmah (Plan, U).

when the cover is set on, lies level with the floor, and its use is for the rain water, which, as it comes down, drains therein. In the south wall (of the Haram Area) is a gate leading to the places for the ablution, where there is running water.\* When a person has need to make the ablution (before prayer), he goes down to this place and accomplishes what is prescribed; for had the place (of ablution) been set without the walls, by reason of the great size of the Haram Area, no one could have returned in time, and before the appointed hour for prayer had gone by.

The roofs of all the buildings in the Haram Area are covered with lead. Below the ground-level are numerous tanks and water-cisterns hewn out of the rock, for the Noble Sanctuary rests everywhere on a foundation of live rock. There are so many of these cisterns that, however much rain falls, no water flows away to waste, but is all caught in the tanks, whence the people come to draw it. They have constructed leaden conduits for carrying down the water, and the rock cisterns lie below these, with covered passages leading down therein, through which the conduits pass to the tanks; whereby any loss of water is saved, and impurities are kept therefrom.

At a distance of three leagues from the Holy City I saw a great water-tank, whereinto pour all the streams that flow down from the hills.† From thence they have

\* This gate does not, I believe, exist at the present day. The present Bâb al Mutawadda (the Gate of the Place of Ablution) opens on the west side of the Haram Area (Plan, H), and has nothing to do with the one here mentioned, which I take to have been in the souterrains of the Aksa. The Ablution-place was just within the northern entrance to the Double Passage close to the 'Well of the Leaf'; there are still the remains of water-pipes here, and of chambers. Ibn Batûtah, in A.D. 1326, states that, 'in the south wall (of the Haram Area) is a single gate, that by which the Imâm enters.' (Edition by B. de Meynard, vol. i., p. 121). (See also below, p. 41, note.)

† Solomon's Pools in Wâdî Urtas.

brought an aqueduct that comes out into the Noble Sanctuary. Of all parts of the Holy City this is where water is most plentiful. But in every house, also, there is a cistern for collecting the rain water, for other than this water there is none, and each must store the rain which falls upon his roof. The water used in the hot-baths and other places is solely from the storage of the rains.

The tanks that are below the Haram Area never need to be repaired, for they are cut in the live rock. Any place where there may have been originally a fissure or a leakage, has been so solidly built up that the tanks never fall out of order. It is said that these cisterns were constructed by Solomon—peace be upon him ! The roofing of them is like that of a baker's oven (*tannûr*). Each opening is covered with a stone, as at a well-mouth, in order that nothing may fall down therein. The water of the Holy City is sweeter than the water of any other place, and purer ; and even when no rain falls for two or three days the conduits still run with water, for though the sky be clear and there be no trace (of cloud), the dew causes drops to fall.\*

As I have written above, the Holy City stands on the summit of a hill, and its site is not on level ground. The place, however, where the Noble Sanctuary stands is flat and on the level ; but without the Area the enclosing wall varies in height in different places, by reason that where the fall is abrupt, the Haram wall is the highest, for the foundation of the wall lies at the bottom of the declivity ; and where the ground mounts, the wall, on the other hand, has, of need, been built less high.

Wherever, in the city itself and in the suburbs, the

\* Mukaddasi (Translation, p. 84) remarks on the plentiful dew-fall in Palestine, and says that 'every night when the south wind blows, the gutters of the Aksa Mosque are set running.'

level is below that in the Haram Area, they have made gateways, like tunnels (*nakab*), cut through, that lead up into the court (of the Noble Sanctuary). One such as these is called Bâb an Nabî (or the Gate of the Prophet)—peace and blessing be upon him!—which opens towards the Kiblah point, that is towards the south.\* (The passage-way of this gate) is ten ells broad, and the height varies by reason of the steps; in one place it is five ells high, and in others the roof of the passage-way is twenty ells above you. Over this passage-way has been erected the main building of the (Aksa) Mosque, for the masonry is so solidly laid that they have been able to raise the enormous building that is seen here, without any damage arising to what is below. They have made use of stones of such a size, that the mind cannot conceive how, by human power, they were carried up and set in place. It is said, however, that the building was accomplished by Solomon, the son of David—peace be upon him! The Prophet—peace and blessing be upon him!—on the night of his Ascent into Heaven (*Mi'râj*), passed into the Noble Sanctuary through this passage-way, for the gateway opens on the road from Mekkah. Near it, in the wall, is seen the imprint on the stone of a great shield. It is said to be that of Hamzah ibn 'Abd al Mutallib, the Prophet's uncle—peace be upon him!—who once seated himself here with his shield on his back, and leaning against the wall, left the mark of the same thereon. This gateway of the Haram leading into the tunnelled passage-

\* From its orientation *south*, this gate cannot be the present 'Gate of the Prophet,' otherwise called Bâb al Maghâribah, or of the Moghbîns, which opens *west*, at the south extremity of the west wall (Plan, K). Nâsir's Gate of the Prophet most probably opened at the place in the south wall originally occupied by either the 'Double Gate' or the 'Triple Gate,' both of which at the present day are closed. (See Appendix C.)

way, is closed by a double-leafed door, and the wall of the Haram Area outside it is of a height of near upon fifty ells. The reason for the piercing of this gateway was to enable the inhabitants of the suburb lying obliquely beyond to enter the Haram Area at their pleasure, without having to pass through other quarters of the city. To the right of this gateway there is in the wall a block of stone eleven\* cubits high and four cubits across, and this is larger than any other of the stones of the wall, although there are many others that measure four and five ells across set in the masonry at a height of thirty and forty ells.

In the width of the Haram Area there is a gate, opening towards the east, called Bâb al 'Ain † (or the Gate of the Spring); passing out from which you descend a declivity to the Spring of Silwân (Siloam). There is also another gate (the passage-way of which) is excavated in the ground, and it is called Bâb al Hittah (the Gate of Remission).‡ They say that this is the gate by which God—be He exalted and glorified!—commanded the Children of Israel to enter the Noble Sanctuary, according to His word—be He exalted!—(in the Kurâن),§ ‘Enter ye the gate with prostrations, and say (Hittah), “Remission!” and We will pardon you your sins, and give an increase to the doers of good.’

There is still another gate (to the Haram Area), and it is called Bâb as Sakînah (the Gate of the Shechînâh, or

\* M. Scheser's text reads 'fifteen.' Referring apparently to the stones in the 'Great Course.'

† The 'width' (*pahnd*) would seem to imply the *south* wall of the area, and in this case the walled-up 'Single Gate' is probably the one referred to. But if the Bâb al 'Ain was in the *east* wall it must then be identified with the gate sometimes called Bâb al Janâiz (the Gate of the Funerals), long since walled up (Plan, P).

‡ The present Bâb an Nabî (Plan, K).

§ Chapter ii. 55.

Divine Presence),\* and in the hall (*dahlîz*) adjacent thereto is a mosque that has many Mihrâbs (or prayer niches). The door at the entrance thereof is barred, so that no one can pass through. They say that the Ark of the Shechînah, which God—be He exalted and glorified!—has alluded to in the Kurân, was once placed here, but was borne away by Angels. The whole number of gates, both upper and lower, in the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, is nine, and we have here above described them †

In the middle of the court of the Haram Area is the platform ‡ (*dukkân*), and set in the midst thereof is the Sakhrah (or Rock),§ which before the revelation of Islam was the Kiblah (or point turned to in prayer). The platform was constructed by reason that the Rock, being high, could not be brought within the compass of the main-building (of the Aksâ Mosque). Wherefore the foundations of this platform were laid, measuring three hundred and thirty cubits by three hundred,|| and the height thereof twelve ells. The surface of the same is level and

\* The Gate of the Shechinah (according to Suyûti) stood close beside the Bâb as Silsilah, the Gate of the Chain (Plan, I), and both gateways opened apparently into the same street. The present Bâb as Salâm.

† Ten gates in all have been mentioned, viz.: 1. Al Hittah; 2. An Nabî; 3. Al 'Ain; 4. Ar Rahmah and At Taubah; 5. Bâb al Abwâb; 6. Al Asbât; 7. To Sûfî Cloisters; 8. As Sakar; 9. Dâûd; 10. As Sakînah. (See further Appendix C.)

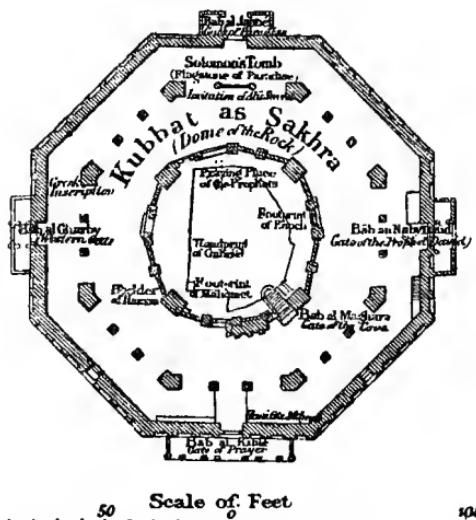
‡ Plan, x x x x.

§ Plan, b.

|| The dimensions of the width ('300 cubits') are omitted in the B. M. M.S., and are inserted from M. Schefer's text. The platform at the present day measures roughly:—North side, 530 feet; south side, 435 feet; east side, 550 feet; west side, 560 feet. Three hundred and thirty cubits for the length north to south gives 660 feet, and three hundred cubits (?) for the breadth east and west gives 600 feet, which, if exact, would show that in our Pilgrim's days the platform was larger than it is at present.

beautifully paved with slabs of marble, with walls the like, all the joints being riveted with lead. Along the edge of its four sides are parapets of marble blocks, that fence it round, so that, except by the openings left for that purpose, you cannot come thereto. From up on the platform you command a view over the roofs of the (Aksa) Mosque. There is an underground tank in the midst of the platform, whereto is collected, by means of conduits,

**PLAN  
OF  
ES SAKHRA.  
(Dome of the Rock)**



*From the O.S. Plan of Jerusalem 1864-5.*

**PLAN OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.**

all the rain-water that falls on the platform itself; and the water of this tank is sweeter and purer than is the water of any other of the tanks in the Haram Area.

On the platform rise four domes. The largest of them is the Kubbat as Sakhrah (the Dome of the Rock); which Rock was of old the Kiblah. This dome is so situate as to stand in the middle of the platform, which itself occu-

lies the middle of the Haram Area. The edifice is built in the form of a regular octagon, and each of its eight sides measures three-and-thirty cubits.\* There are four gates facing the four cardinal points, namely, east, west, north, and south; and between each of these is one of the oblique sides of the octagon. The walls are everywhere constructed of squared stones, and are twenty cubits (in height). The Rock itself measures a hundred ells round; it has no regular form, being neither square nor circular, but is shapeless, like a boulder from the mountains. Beyond the four sides of the Rock rise four piers of masonry that equal in height the walls of the (octagonal) building, and between every two piers, on the four sides, stand a pair of marble pillars, which are like to the height of the piers. Resting on these twelve piers and pillars is the structure of the dome, under which lies the Rock; and the circumference of the dome is one hundred and twenty cubits.† Between the walls of the (octagonal) building, and the circle of piers and pillars—and by the term 'pier' (*sutūn*) I understand a support that is built up, and is square; while the term 'pillar' (*ustuwānah*) denotes a support that is cut from a single block of stone, and is round—between this inner circle of supports, then, and the outer walls of the edifice, are built eight‡ other piers

\* Each of the sides of the octagonal building measures rather over sixty-six feet, giving roughly two feet for the size of the cubit.

† From the very exact plans in M. de Vogüé's 'Jérusalem,' the full diameter of the drum of the Dome is twenty-three metres or seventy-five and a half feet. This gives a circumference of two hundred and thirty-seven feet, which agrees very well with the hundred and twenty cubits (two hundred and forty feet) of the text.

‡ The B. M. MS. and M. Schefer's text both give 'six' as the number of piers in the outer circle, but this neither corresponds with what follows some lines below (where the total number of the piers in outer and inner circles is stated to be twelve, *i.e.*, four *plus* eight), nor with the actual condition of the Dome of the Rock, which apparently

of squared stones, and between every two of them are placed, equidistant, three columns in coloured marble. Thus, while in the inner circle between every two piers there are two columns, there are here (in the outer circle) between every two piers, three columns.\* On the capital of each pier are set four volutes (*shâkh*), from each of which springs an arch; and on the capital of each column are set two volutes; so that at every column is the spring of two arches, while at every pier is the spring of four.

The great Dome, which rises above the twelve piers standing round the Rock, can be seen from the distance of a league away, rising like the summit of a mountain. From the base of the Dome to its pinnacle measures thirty cubits, and this rises above the (octagonal) walls that are twenty ells high—for the Dome is supported on the pillars that are like in height to the outer walls—and the whole building rises on a platform that itself is twelve ells high, so that from the level of the Court of the Noble Sanctuary to the summit of the Dome measures a total of sixty-two ells.† The roofing and the ceiling of this

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never had more than four piers in the inner, and eight in the outer circle.

\* Thus in all MSS., but possibly our Pilgrim has made a mistake. To agree with the present arrangement of piers and columns he should have said: 'Between each of the four piers of the inner circle are *three* columns, and between each of the eight outer piers are two columns,' i.e.  $(4+8)$  twelve piers, and  $(4 \times 3$  plus  $8 \times 2)$  twenty-eight columns. See however, Al Ya'kûbî's description (*circa* 874 A.D.), as given in the *Quart. State.*, for April, 1887 (p. 95), who says there are twelve piers and *thirty* columns.

† I note this as the principal passage for proving that Nâsir-i-Khusrau uses the terms 'gez' (ell) and 'arsh' (cubit) synonymously. On a previous page he has said that the platform is twelve *arsh* high; here he says it measures twelve *gez*, and this added to twenty *gez* (walls) and to thirty *arsh* (dome) makes sixty-two *gez*. The height of

edifice are in woodwork, that is set above the piers, and the pillars, and the walls, after a fashion not to be seen elsewhere. The Rock itself rises out of the floor to the height of a man, and a balustrade of marble goes round about it in order that none may lay his hand thereon. The Rock inclines on the side that is towards the Kiblah (or south), and there is an appearance as though a person had walked heavily on the stone when it was soft like clay, whereby the imprint of his toes had remained thereon. There are on the rock seven such footmarks, and I heard it stated that Abraham—peace be upon him!—was once here with Isaac—upon him be peace!—when he was a boy, and that he walked over this place, and that the footmarks were his.

In the house of the Dome of the Rock men are always congregated, pilgrims and worshippers. The place is laid with fine carpets of silk and other stuffs. In the middle of the Dome, and over the Rock, there hangs from a silver chain a silver lamp; and there are in other parts of the building great numbers of silver lamps, on each of which is inscribed its weight. These lamps are all the gift of the (Fatimite Khalif, who is) Sultan of Egypt, and according to the calculation I made, there must be here silver utensils of various kinds of the weight of a thousand Manns (or about a ton and a half). I saw there a huge wax taper that was seven cubits high, and three spans (*shibr*) in diameter. It was (white) like the camphor of Zibâj,\* and (the wax) was mixed with ambergris. They

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the Dome of the Rock at the present day, measuring from floor to summit of Dome, is, roughly, one hundred and twelve feet. Our Pilgrim estimates it (deducting the height of the platform) at fifty ells or cubits, *i.e.*, one hundred feet.

\* Zibâj or Zâbij—according to the author of the ‘Marâsid al Ittilâ’—is the name of the country in the further parts of India, on the frontiers of China, *i.e.*, Cochin China (?).

told me that the Sultan of Egypt sent hither every year a great number of tapers, and among the rest, the large one just described, on which the name of the Sultan was written in golden letters.

The Noble Sanctuary is the third of the Houses of God—be He exalted and glorified!—and the doctors of religion concur in saying that a single prayer offered up here, in this Holy City, has vouchsafed to it the effect of five-and-twenty thousand prayers said elsewhere; just as in Medinah, the City of the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—every single prayer may count for fifty thousand, while each that is said in Mekkah, the Venerable—God, be He exalted, ennable the City!—will pass for a hundred thousand. And God—be He exalted and glorified!—give grace to all His servants, that they may one day acquit themselves of such prayers!

As I have said before, all the roof and the exterior parts of the Dome of the Rock is covered with lead, and at each of the four sides of the edifice is set a great gate, with double folding-doors of Sâj-wood (or teak). These doors are always kept closed.

Besides the Dome of the Rock there is (on the platform) the dome called Kubbat as Silsilah (or the Donie of the Chain).\* The ‘chain’ is that which David—peace be upon him!—hung up, and it was so that none who spoke not the truth could grasp it, the unjust and the wicked man could not lay hand on it, which same is a certified fact, and well known to the learned. This Dome is supported on eight marble columns, and six stone piers;† and on all sides it is open, except on the side towards

\* Plan, c.

† The present Dome of the Chain has six columns in the inner circle supporting the cupola, and eleven columns in the outer circle (counting the two built in on either side the Prayer-niche).

the Kiblah point, which is built up, and forms a beautiful Mihrâb.

And again, on the platform, is another Dome, that surmounts four marble columns. This, too, on the Kiblah side, is walled in, forming a fine Mihrâb. It is called Kubbat Jibrâîl (the Dome of Gabriel);\* and there are no carpets spread here, for its floor is formed by the live rock, that has been here made smooth. They say that on the night of the Mi'râj (the ascent into heaven), the steed Burâk was tied up at this spot, until the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—was ready to mount. Lastly, there is yet another Dome, lying twenty cubits distant from the Dome of Gabriel, and it is called Kubbat ar Rasûl (or the Dome of the Prophet)—peace and benediction be upon him!† This Dome, likewise, is set upon four marble piers.

They say that, on the night of his ascent into heaven, the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—prayed first in the Dome of the Rock, laying his hand upon the Rock. And as he came forth, the Rock, to do him honour, rose up, but the Prophet—peace and benediction be upon him!—laid his hand thereon to keep it in its place, and there firmly fixed it. But, by reason of this uprising, even to the present day, it is here partly detached (from the ground below). The Prophet—the peace of Allah be upon him, and His benediction!—went on thence and came to the Dome which is now called after him, and there he mounted (the steed) Burâk; and for this reason is the Dome venerated. Underneath the Rock is a large cavern, where they continually burn tapers, and they say that when the Rock moved in order

\* Plan, e.

† Plan, d. Now generally known as the Kubbat al Mi'râj, the Dome of the Ascension.

to rise up (in honour of the Prophet), this space below was left void, and that the Rock became fixed, and so it has remained, even as may now be seen.

Now, regarding the stairways that lead up on to the platform of the court of the Noble Sanctuary, these are six in number, each with its own name.

On the side (south) towards the Kiblah, there are two flights of steps that go up on to the platform. As you stand by the middle of the retaining wall of the platform (on the south), there is one flight to the right hand and another to the left. That lying on the right is called Makâm an Nabi (the Prophet's Station)—peace be upon him!—and that lying on the left is called Makâm Ghûri (or the Station of Ghûri). The stairway of the Prophet's Station is so called for that on the night of his ascent the Prophet—upon him be peace and blessing!—went up to the platform thereby, going thence to the Dome of the Rock. And the road hither from the Hijâz comes by this stair. At the present day this stairway is twenty cubits broad, and each step is a rectangular block of carefully chiselled stone in one piece, or sometimes in two. The steps are laid in such a fashion that it would be possible to ride on horseback up on to the platform thereby. At the top of this stairway are four piers (*sutûn*) of marble, green, like the emerald, only that the marble is variegated with numberless coloured spots; and these pillars are ten cubits in height, and so thick that it would take two men to encompass them. Above the capitals of these four pillars rise three arches, one opposite the gate, and one on either side; and (the masonry) crowning the arches is flat-topped and rectangular with battlements (*kangurah*) and a cornice (*shurfah*) set therein. These pillars and the arches are ornamented in gold and enamel work, than which none can be finer.

The balustrade (*dâr-âfrîn*) round the (edge of the) platform is of green marble variegated with spots, so that one would say it was a meadow covered with flowers in bloom.

The stairway of Makâm Ghûrî consists of a triple flight, and the three lead up together on to the platform, one in the middle and two on either side, so that by three ways can people go up. At the summit of each of the three flights are columns supporting arches with a cornice. Each step is skilfully cut, of squared stone, as noted above, and each may consist of two or three blocks in the length. Over the arcade above is set a beautiful inscription in gold, stating that it was constructed by command of the Amîr Laith ad Daulah Nûshtakîn Ghûrî, and they told me that this Laith ad Daulah had been a servant of the Sultan of Egypt, and had caused these steps and gangways to be built.\*

On the western side of the platform there are, likewise, two flights of steps leading up thereon, and constructed with the same skill as those I have just described. On the east side there is but one flight. It is built after a like fashion to the foregoing, with columns and an arch with battlements above, and it is named Makâm Sharkî (or the Eastern Station). On the northern side (of the platform) there is also a single stairway, but it is higher and broader than are any of the others. As with those, there are here columns and arches built (at the top of the flight), and it goes by the name of Makâm Shâmî (that is,

\* Anûshtakîn Amîr al Juyûsh (Generalissimo), originally a Turk slave from Khoten, was Governor of Syria, under the Fatimite Khalif Ad Dhâhir, from 419 A.H. (1028 A.D.) to 433 (1041). It would appear that this stairway was destroyed during the Frank occupation, or later, for at the present day there is no *triple* flight of steps leading up on this side of the platform. There are, however, two separate stairways, as of old, but each is of a single flight (see Plan).

the Syrian or Northern Station). According to the estimate I made, these six flights of steps must have had expended upon them one hundred thousand dînârs (or £50,000).

In the court of the Haram Area, but not upon the platform, is a building resembling a small mosque. It lies towards the north side,\* and is a walled enclosure (*hadhîrah*), built of squared stones, with walls of over a man's height. It is called the Mihrâb Dâûd (or David's Oratory). Near this enclosure is a rock, standing up about as high as a man, and the summit of it, which is uneven, is rather smaller than would suffice for spreading thereon a (prayer) rug (*zîlî*). This place, they say, was the Throne of Solômon (Kursi Sulaimân), and they relate that Solomon—peace be upon him!—sat thereon while occupied with building the Noble Sanctuary.

Such, then, are the sights I saw in the Noble Sanctuary of the Holy City, and noted down in the diary that I wrote; and, lastly, among other wonders that I saw in the Sanctuary of the Holy City was the Tree of the Houris.†

Now, it was my intention to go down from the Holy City and make my visitation (at Hebron, to the tomb of) Abraham, the Friend of the Merciful—peace and benediction be upon him!—and on Wednesday, the first day of the month of Dhû-l Ka'adah, of the year of the Flight 438 (29th April, 1047 A.D.), I set out. From the Holy City

\* This Mihrâb Dâûd, which is said to be in the northern portion of the Haram Area, and near the Kursi Sulaimân (Plan, V), can hardly be the place named at present 'the Oratory of David,' which is a niche in the great south wall of the Area (Plan, g). It is probably the Kubbat Sulaimân of Mujîr ad Dîn, near the Bâb al 'Atm, and lying south-west of that gate.

† According to Muslim tradition, the Houris appeared to Muhammed under some trees, not far from the Platform of the Rock, when he came hither on the night when he went up to heaven on the steed Burâk.

to Hebron is six leagues, and the road runs towards the south. Along the way are many villages with gardens and cultivated fields. Such trees as need little water, as, for example, the vine and the fig, the olive and the sumach, grow here abundantly, and of their own accord. A couple of leagues from the Holy City is a place where there are four villages ; and there is here a spring of water with numerous gardens and orchards, and it is called Farâdîs (or the Paradises), on account of the beauty of the spot.\* At the distance of a league from the Holy City is a place belonging to the Christians, which they hold in greatest veneration, and there are always numerous pilgrims of their people who come hither to perform their visitation. The place is called Bait al Lahm (Beth-lehem). The Christians hold a festival here, and many will come for it all the way from Rûm (or the Greek Empire). The day I myself left the Holy City I passed the night at Bethlehem.

The people of Syria, and the inhabitants of the Holy City, call the Sanctuary (or Mash-had at Hebron) Khalil (that is, 'the Friend' of Allah, Abraham)—His blessing be upon him!—and they never make use of the real name of the village, which name is Matlûn.† This Sanctuary has belonging to it very many villages that provide revenues for pious purposes. At one of these villages is a spring, where water flows out from under a stone, but in no great

\* These must be in the valley of Urtâs, which runs down to Jabal Farâdîs—the ancient Herodium, and at the present day vulgarly called Frank Mountain. In the name *Urtâs*—where are the so-called 'Pools of Solomon'—M. Schefer would see a corruption of the Latin *Hortus*, with the same meaning as *Firdûs* (Plural, *Furâdîs*), which is the original Persian word for a paradise or park.

† Hebron in the early Arab annals is divided into four quarters or villages—Habrûn, Marthûn, Bait 'Ainûn, and Bait Ibrâhîm. Mathlûn is doubtless a corruption of the second of these names (see Yakût's 'Geographical Dictionary,' text, vol. ii., p. 195).

abundance; and it is conducted by a channel, cut in the ground, to a place outside the town (of Hebron), where they have constructed a covered tank for collecting the water, so that none may run to waste; and that the people of the town, and the pilgrims, may be able to supply their wants. The Sanctuary (*Mash-had*) stands on the southern border of the town, and extends towards the south-east.\* The Sanctuary is enclosed by four walls, built of squared masonry, and in its upper part (the area) measures eighty cubits long by forty cubits across.† The height of the (exterior) walls is twenty cubits, and at their summit the width of the walls is two cubits. The Mihrâb (or niche) and the Maksûrah (or enclosed space for Friday prayers) stand in the width of the building (at the south end).‡ In the Maksûrah are many fine Mihrâbs. There are two tombs occupying the Maksûrah, laid so that their heads lie towards the Kiblah (point, south). Both these tombs are covered by cenotaphs, built of squared stones as high as a man. That lying on the right hand (to the west) § is the grave of Isaac, son of Abraham; and that on the left (or to the east)|| is the grave of his wife (Rebecca)—peace be upon them! Between the two graves may measure the space of about ten cubits. In this part of the Sanctuary the floor and the walls are adorned with

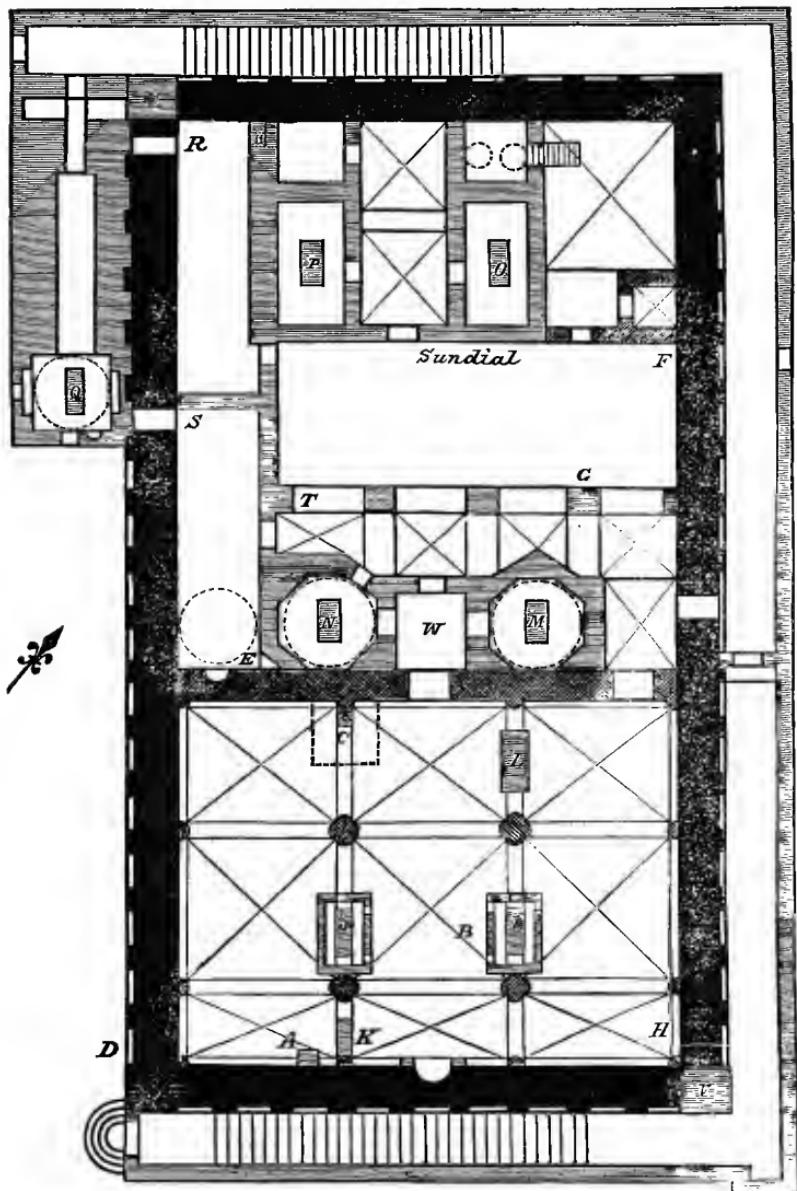
\* The exact orientation of the quadrangle is fifty degrees true bearing, and consequently the great Mihrâb of the Kiblah point lies almost exactly south-east.

† The exact dimensions *externally* of the Haram Walls, as measured by T.R.H. Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales during their visit (1882), are one hundred and ninety-seven feet by one hundred and eleven feet. Our Pilgrim's measurement is considerably under the real size. The average outside height of the ancient (or Herodian ?) walls is forty feet, or twenty cubits, as in the text.

‡ The present building, known as the church, is of the time of the Crusaders. The building Nâsir saw has disappeared.

§ J in the Plan.

|| I in the Plan.



HARAM AT HEBRON.

precious carpets and Maghribi matting that is more costly even than brocade stuff (*dībā*). I saw here a piece of matting, serving as a prayer-rug, which they told me the Amîr al Juyûsh (or Captain-General), in the service of the Sultan of Egypt, had sent hither, and they said that at Cairo (*Misr*) this prayer-rug had been bought for thirty gold Maghribî dînârs (or about £15). Now, the same quantity of Rûmî (or Greek) brocade would not have cost so much, and the equal of this mat I never saw elsewhere.

Leaving the Mâksûrah, you find in the court of the Sanctuary two buildings. Facing the Kiblah (point, south), the one lying on the right hand (or to the west),\* contains the Tomb of Abraham, the Friend of Allah—His blessing be upon him! This building is of such a size that inside it is another building which you cannot enter, but which has in it four windows, through which the pilgrims, who stand about it, may look and view the tomb that is within. The walls and the floor of this chamber are covered with brocade stuffs, and the cenotaph is made of stone, measuring three ells (in length), with many silver lamps and lanterns hung above it. The other edifice, lying on the left hand as you face the Kiblah (or on the eastern side),† has within it the Tomb of Sarah, the wife of Abraham—peace be upon him! Between the two edifices is the passage-way that leads to both, and this is like a hall (*dahlîz*), and here also are suspended numerous lamps and lanterns.

After passing by these two edifices, you come to two other sepulchral chambers lying close one to another, that to the right (or on the west side) ‡ containing the Tomb of the Prophet Jacob—peace be upon him!—and that to the left (or east side) § the Tomb of his wife (Leah).

\* Plan, N.

‡ Plan, P.

† Plan, M.

§ Plan, O.

Beyond this again are other buildings, where Abraham—the blessing of Allah be upon him!—was wont to dispense his hospitality; but within the Sanctuary there are these six tombs only. Outside the four walls (of the Sanctuary) the ground slopes away, and here on the (west) side\* is the Sepulchre of Joseph, the son of Jacob—peace be upon them both!—over whose gravestone they have built a beautiful dome.

On this side, where the ground is level—that is, beyond the Sepulchre of Joseph and the Sanctuary—lies a great cemetery, whither they bring the dead from many parts to be buried. On the flat roof of the Maksârah, in the (Hebron) Sanctuary, they have built cells for the reception of the pilgrims who come hither; and their revenues for this charity are considerable, being derived from villages and houses in the Holy City. They grow at Hebron for the most part barley, wheat being rare; but olives are in abundance. The pilgrims, and voyagers, and other guests (of the Sanctuary), are given bread and olives. There are very many mills here, worked by oxen and mules, that all day long grind the flour; and, further, there are slave-girls who, during the whole day, are baking the bread. The loaves they make here are each of them of a Mann weight (or about three pounds), and to every person who arrives they give daily a loaf of bread, and a dish of lentils cooked in olive-oil, also some raisins. This practice has been in usage from the days of (Abraham) the Friend of the Merciful—peace be upon him!—down to the present hour; and there are some days when as many as five hundred pilgrims arrive, to each of whom this hospitality is offered.

It is said that in early times the Sanctuary (at Hebron) had no door into it, and hence that no one could come

\* Plan, Q. See also Appendix B.

nearer to (the tombs) than the outer porch (*iwâن*), whence, from outside, they performed their visitation. When, however, the (Fatimite Khalif) Mahdi came to the throne of Egypt,\* he gave orders that a door should be opened (into the Sanctuary), and he provided utensils and carpets and rugs, besides causing many (convenient) edifices to be built. The entrance door of the Sanctuary is in the middle of the northern wall,† and is four ells high from the ground. On either side of it are stone steps, one stairway for going up, and one for coming down, and the gateway is closed by a small iron door.

From Hebron I came back to the Holy City, and thence set out on foot with a company of people whose intention it was to make the journey to the Hijâz. Our guide was a certain man, Abu Bakr Hamadânî by name, who was of a pleasant countenance and sturdy, and he walked afoot. We started from the Holy City on the 15th of Dhû-l Ka'adah, in the year 438 (14th May, 1047 A.D.); and, after three days, reached a place called Ar'ar,‡ where there is running water and trees. Thence we came on to a further stage,§ called Wâdî-l Kurâ, from which place in ten days' journey we reached Mekkah. No (pilgrim) caravan

\* 'Ubaid Allah al Mahdi, the founder of the Fatimite dynasty, who, in the year 306 A.H. (918 A.D.), was for some time Master of Egypt.

† The only doorway that pierces the Haram walls at the present day is at about the centre of the *eastern* wall (Plan, 7). As, however, the Kiblah point is really south-east—though our Pilgrim always speaks of it as *south*—the long wall of the Haram on the left hand (facing the Kiblah) is in truth the north-east wall, and a door in it might be said to face *north*, for north-east.

‡ So in all the MSS., including the Epitome, which begins again at this point. M. Schefer's translation gives 'Izra,' but he adds in a note that the reading of the name is uncertain. Ar'ar or Ar'air is probably Aroer, on the Arnon (Wâdî Môjib). Wâdî-l Kurâ lies on the limit of the territory of Medinah.

§ The B. M. MS. breaks off here, and, leaving out a page, continues with the words translated at note (\*) on p. 61. My translation is from M. Schefer's text.

had arrived there that year from any quarter, and provisions were scarce, for everybody was in fear of the (bedawîn) Arabs. At Mekkah we alighted in the street of the perfume-sellers, which is by the Gate of the Prophet—peace be upon him!—and on the Monday were present at 'Arafât. When I had come back from the ceremony, I remained but two days longer at Mekkah ; and then took the road towards Syria, returning to (Jerusalem) the Holy City, which I entered again on the 5th of Muharram, of the Lunar year (of the Flight) 439 (2nd July, 1047). I shall not now give a description of Mekkah and the Pilgrimage there, but shall reserve all mention thereof till I come to speak of my subsequent visit.

In the Holy City (of Jerusalem), the Christians possess a church which they call Bai'at-al-Kumâmah\* (which is the Church of the Resurrection), and they hold it in great veneration. Every year great multitudes of people from Rûm (the Greek Empire) come hither to perform their visitation ; and the Emperor of Byzantium himself even comes here, but privily, so that no one should recognise him. In the days when (the Fatimite Khalif) Al Hâkim-bi-amr-Allah was ruler of Egypt, the Greek Cæsar had come after this manner to Jerusalem. Al Hâkim having news of it, sent for one of his cup-bearers, and said to him, ‘There is a man of so and such a countenance and condition whom thou wilt find seated in the mosque (Jâmi') of the Holy City ; go thou, therefore, and approach him, and say that Hâkim hath sent thee to him, lest he should think that I, Hâkim, knew not of his coming ; but tell him to be of good cheer, for I have no evil intention against him.’

\* Literally, ‘the Church of the Dunghill,’ for the word *Kumâmah* is a designed corruption on the part of the Muslims of *Kayâmah*, the Arabic name of the church, meaning *Anastasis*, or Resurrection.

Hâkim at one time ordered the church (of the Resurrection) to be given over to plunder, which was so done, and it was laid in ruins.\* Some time it remained thus; but afterwards the Cæsar of Byzantium sent ambassadors with presents and promises of service, and concluded a treaty in which he stipulated for permission to defray the expenses of rebuilding the church, and this was ultimately accomplished.

At the present day the church is a most spacious building, and is capable of containing eight thousand persons. The edifice is built, with the utmost skill, of coloured marbles, with ornamentation and sculptures. Inside, the church is everywhere adorned with Byzantine brocade, worked in gold with pictures. And they have portrayed Jesus—peace be upon Him!—who at times is shown riding upon an ass. There are also pictures representing other of the Prophets, as, for instance, Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob with his sons—peace be upon them all! These pictures they have overlaid with a varnish of the oil of Sandaracha (*Sandarâs*, or red juniper); and for the face of each portrait they have made a plate of thin glass, which is set thereon, and is perfectly transparent. This dispenses with the need of a curtain, and prevents any dust or dirt from settling on the painting, for the glass is cleaned daily by the servants (of the church). Besides this (Church of the Resurrection) there are many others (in Jerusalem), all very skilfully built; but to describe them all would lead into too great length. In the church (of the Resurrection) there

\* The church was laid in ruins in the year 1009 A.D. by the mad Khalif Hâkim's orders, and was not rebuilt till 1037, under Al Mustansir, who granted this privilege to the Emperor Michael IV., the Paphlagonian, on consideration of his setting free five thousand Muslim captives.

is a picture divided into two parts, representing Heaven and Hell. One part shows the people of paradise in Paradise, while the other shows the people of hell in Hell, with all that there is therein; and assuredly there is nowhere else in the world a picture such as this. There are seated in this church great numbers of priests and monks\* who read the Evangel and say prayers, for both by day and by night they are occupied after this manner.

Now, it was my intention to have left the Holy City, and gone by sea to Egypt—before returning from thence to Mekkah—but the wind was so contrary as to make a sea-voyage impossible. I set out, therefore, by the land-road; and, after passing Ramlah, came to the city called 'Askalân (Ascalon). The bazaar and the mosque are both fine; and I saw here an arch, which they told me was ancient, and had been part of a mosque. The arch was built of such mighty stones that, should any desire to throw it down, he would spend much money before he could accomplish it. On the road beyond Ascalon I saw many villages and towns, to note each of which would be wearisome; so I omit the mention of the places I passed before coming to the town called Tînah, which is a harbour with many ships; and from Tînah I took passage in a ship going to Tinnîs (in Egypt).

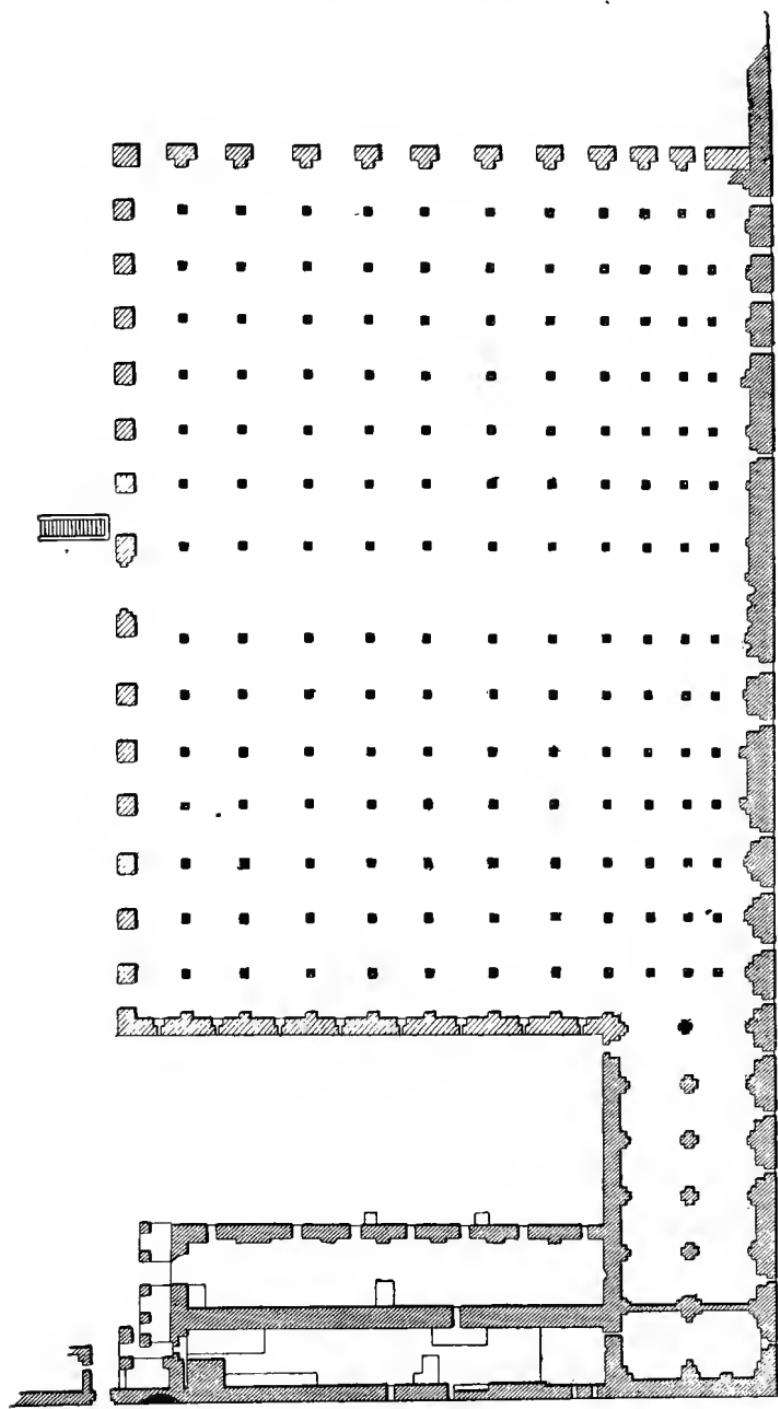
\* See note §, p. 58.

## APPENDIX A.

MUKADDASI, who wrote his description of Jerusalem in 985 A.D., describes the Aksa Mosque of his day as having *fifteen* doorways opening to the north, and *eleven* opening to the east (see p. 42 of my translation). The plan of the Aksa Mosque must then have been very different from what it now is, and Professor Hayter Lewis's restoration (reproduced here from his paper in the *Pal. Expl. Fund Quart. Stat.* for January, 1887) shows what the plan of the building must have originally been.

In A.D. 1033 (A.H. 425) the great earthquake occurred (see above, p. 37, note \*) which, half a century after Mukaddasi's time, threw down a great part of the edifice.

From Nâsir-i-Khusrau's description, dating from A.D. 1047 (438 A.H.), or thirteen years after this earthquake, it would appear that the Aksa, when rebuilt, had been greatly curtailed in the *width* (east and west), while the length remained much the same. The *plan* of the mosque visited by Nâsir-i-Khusrau, with *five* gateways to the north and *ten* to the east, could not have been very different from that of the building as it at present exists (see Plan, p. 35). It must, however, be confessed that the dimensions recorded by Nâsir-i-Khusrau—east wall (length) 420 cubits, or about 840 feet, and north wall



THE MOSQUE EL AKSA AS IT WAS IN MUKADDASI'S TIME, A.D. 985.

(width) 150 cubits, or about 300 feet\*—are greatly in excess of those of the present edifice, since the Masjid al Aksa of to-day measures only about 260 feet in the length, north to south, with 190 feet in the width (of the seven aisles, side by side) east to west. Násir's measurement of the length would indeed make the porch of the Aksa stand *beyond* (north of and covering) the Dome of the Rock. The figures given, therefore, must be corrupt, and for cubits 420 and 150, I imagine we ought to read, cubits 120 and 100; which would roughly agree with the present measurements. This alteration, however, is entirely arbitrary, and I have left the figures to stand in the translation as found in the MSS. The figures of M. Schefer's *Text* (see p. 36, note †), 408 cubits by 450, are even more ridiculously in excess than those of the B. M. MSS. Násir's measurement of the open space between the south-east corner of Haram Area and the east wall of the Aksa, 'two hundred ells' (see p. 36), is, on the other hand, exact, for the actual measurement is as near as may be 400 feet.

\* These figures are twice repeated (p. 36 and p. 37).

## APPENDIX B.

THE following account of the 'Invention' of the Tomb of Joseph is found in the 'Description of Jerusalem and of Hebron' written by Mujir ad Dîn, in the year 1496 A.D. I have translated it from p. 64 *et seq.* of the Arabic text printed at Cairo in A.H. 1283 (1866) :

'The Tomb of Joseph is in the plot of ground lying outside Solomon's enclosure (the Haram). It stands opposite the Tomb of Jacob, and is near that of his fore-fathers Abraham and Isaac. Now, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad al Khalanjî states that he was requested by one of (the Khalif) Al Muktadir's\* women—Al 'Ajûz by name—who was sojourning at the Holy City, to proceed to the place where, according to the tradition, Joseph was buried, and having discovered the sepulchre, to erect over it a building. So Al Khalanjî set forth with workmen, and they found the place where, according to tradition, Joseph was buried, namely, outside the Enclosure (of Solomon), and opposite the Tomb of Jacob; and they bought the field from its owner, and began to lay it bare. In the very place indicated by the tradition they came on a huge rock; and this, by order of Al Khalanjî, was broken

\* Reigned 295-320 A.H. (908-932 A.D.).

into. They tore off a portion, ‘and,’ says Al Khalanjî, ‘I being with the workmen in the trench, when they raised up the fragment, lo! below it lay (the body of) Joseph—peace be upon him!—beautiful and glorious to look on, as he is always represented to have been. Now, first there arose from the place an odour of musk; following it, however, came a strong wind; so I caused the workmen to set down into its place again the fragment of rock to be as it had been before.’

And afterwards they built over this place the Dome which can be seen there to this day, in proof that the tradition is a true one, and that the Patriarch is buried beneath. This Dome stands without the walls of Solomon’s Enclosure, and to the west of it, being within the Madrasah, called after Al Malik an Nâsir Hasan;\* which at the present day is called Al Kala‘ah (the Castle). You enter it through the gate of the mosque which opens towards the market, and leading to the Eunuch’s Spring (*‘Ain at Tawâshî*). It is a place much frequented (by pilgrims, who are shown) here the grave (of Joseph). One of the Guardians of Hebron, Shahâb ad Dîn Ahmad al Yaghmûrî† by name, pierced a gateway in the western wall of (the Haram, which is) Solomon’s Enclosure, and this opens opposite to the Tomb of our Lord Joseph. He also set a monument (*ishârah*) over this lower tomb, to mark the same, and to be similar to monuments that are over the other graves that lie in the Mosque (or Haram) of Abraham. This was done during the reign of Sultân Barkûk.’‡

\* One of the Mamlûk Sultans of Egypt. He was assassinated in 762 A.H. (1361 A.D.).

† He was Governor of Jerusalem and Hebron in 796 A.H. (1394 A.D.).

‡ The Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt, who reigned 784-801 A.H. (1382-1399 A.D.).

APPENDIX C.

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## THE GATES OF THE HARAM AREA.

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BYCOL. SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E.

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IN the note on the Gates of the Haram Area, which I contributed to Mr. Guy le Strange's translation of Mukaddasi, I was misled by the statements of Mujîr ad Dîn, and modern tradition which follows that author. A comparison of the descriptions of Mukaddasi (985 A.D.), and Nâsir-i-Khusrau (1047 A.D.) with each other, and with the description of Mujîr ad Dîn (1496 A.D.) and existing remains, enables me to correct in great measure the errors in my former note, to identify many of the gates with some degree of certainty, and to show that a change took place in the Arab nomenclature of the gates between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries; possibly when Jerusalem was captured by Salâh-ad-Dîn.

Nâsir describes (p. 41) the Bâb an Nabî (Gate of the Prophet), beneath the Mosque al Aksâ, in such terms as to leave no doubt of its identification with the double gateway and passage leading upwards from it beneath

the Mosque to the Haram Area. He also mentions (p. 42) another gate, Bâb al Hittah (Gate of Remission), as being excavated in the ground; and the only known gate of the Haram of this character is the closed Gate of Muhammad, or of the Prophet, beneath the Bâb al Maghâribah (Plan, K). If now we turn to Mukaddasi's list of gates, we find that he commences with Bâb Hittah, that his second gate is 'the two Gates of the Prophet,' and that he ends with the Gate Dâûd, which is, without dispute, the Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) of the present day (Plan, I). The inference I draw from this is that Mukaddasi named the gates in order, commencing with the Bâb Hittah, and ending with the Bâb Dâûd, and not, as I supposed in my former note, at hap-hazard.

In attempting to identify the gates with those which now exist, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Haram Area, with its buildings and the approaches to it, have been much altered at various periods, as, for instance, during the Latin kingdom; after the recapture of the city by the Saracens; and when the walls were rebuilt by Sultan Sulaiman in the sixteenth century.

Following Mukaddasi's list, we have:

1. Bâb al Hittah (Gate of Remission). The Bâb al Hittah of Nâsir, which was excavated in the ground. This is the present closed gate, Bâb al Burâk, or Bâb an Nabî Muhammad, beneath the modern Bâb al Maghâribah (Plan, K). It is called Bâb an Nabî by Mujîr ad Dîn, who places the Bâb al Hittah in the north wall of the Haram.

2. The two Gates of the Prophet (Mukaddasi); the 'Gate of the Prophet' in the south wall and beneath the Mosque al Aksâ, of Nâsir. The present double gate, the Arab name of which is 'the Gate of the Old Aksâ,' as given by Mujîr ad Dîn.

3. The 'Gates of the Mihrâb Maryâm' (Mukaddasi). These gates must have been close to the Mihrâb Maryâm (Muk., p. 34), in the south-east corner of the Haram, from which they take their name. They apparently correspond to the Bâb al 'Ain, of Nâsir (p. 42), and are represented either by the closed 'Single Gate,' in the south wall, or by the 'Triple Gate.'

4. The 'two Gates Ar Rahmah' (Mukaddasi). The Bâb ar Rahmah, and Bâb at Taubah, of Nâsir, so called by Mujîr ad Dîn, and at the present day (Plan, N and O). The double gateway known as the Golden Gate.

5. The 'Gate of the Birkat Banî Israîl' (Mukaddasi). The eastern gate in the north wall is called by Nâsir the Bâb al Abwâb (Gate of Gates). It is now called, as in Mujîr ad Dîn, the Bâb al Asbât (the Gate of the Tribes) (Plan, A), and opens to the road over the dam at the east end of the Birkat Israîl.

6. The 'Gates al Asbât,' of the Tribes (Mukaddasi). It corresponds to the Bâb al Asbât of Nâsir (p. 31), which was in the north wall to the west of the 'Gate of Gates.' It is now called Bâb al Hittah (Gate of Remission) (Plan, B), and was known by this same name to Mujîr ad Dîn, who gives with reference to it the legend applied by Nâsir to Gate No. 1.

7. The 'Hâshimite Gates' (Mukaddasi). These appear to be the gate leading to two cloisters (*daryûzah*), belonging to the Sûfîs, said by Nâsir (p. 31) to have been in the north wall, to the west of the Bâb al Asbât. It is apparently the modern Bâb al 'Atm (Plan, C), which is called by Mujîr ad Dîn, Bâb ad Dawâtir (or Dawâdariyyah), from a school of the same name, and said by him to be the gate by which Omar entered on the day of conquest.

8. The 'Gate of Al Walîd' (Mukaddasi) is possibly the Bâb al Ghawânimah, in the north-west corner of the

Haram Area (Plan, D); it is given the latter name by Mujîr ad Dîn, who says it was formerly called the 'Gate of Abraham.'

9. The 'Gate of Ibrahim' (Mukaddasi) is perhaps the same as the Bâb as Sakar (Gate of Hell), which is the only gate that Nâsir mentions in the west wall, to the north of the Bâb Dâûd (p. 30). It is apparently the modern 'Bâb an Nâdhîr' (the Gate of the Inspector) (Plan, E), which, according to Mujîr ad Dîn, was formerly called the 'Gate of Michael,' and was an ancient gateway. The street 'Akabat at Takiyah, which runs westward from the Bâb an Nâdhîr, is supposed to follow the line of an ancient street, which supports the view that this gateway is on the site of a much older one.

10. The 'Gate of Umm Khâlid' (Mukaddasi). Either the modern Bâb al Hadîd (the Iron Gate) (Plan, F), or the Bâb al Kattanîn (Gate of the Cotton Merchants) (Plan, G), which, according to Mujîr ad Dîn, was in his time, as it is now, near the Gate of the Bath.

11. The 'Gate Dâûd' (Mukaddasi) is the same as the Bâb Dâûd (Gate of David) of Nâsir. It is now the Bâb as Silsilah (the Gate of the Chain) (Plan, I), and the adjoining Bâb as Salâm (Gate of Peace) is the Bâb as Sakînah of Nâsir (p. 42). Mujîr ad Dîn mentions this double gate under the names Bâb as Sakînah, and Bâb as Silsilah, and says that the latter was formerly called the Bâb Dâûd.

One gate mentioned by Mujîr ad Dîn, the 'Gate of Burâk,' appears to have been completely destroyed when the walls were rebuilt by Sultan Sulaimân in the sixteenth century. He says that the east gate of the Dome of the Rock, called the 'Gate of Israfil,' led to the steps of Burâk, which were opposite the Dome of the Chain; and that opposite the steps was the 'Gate of Burâk' (Plan, P),

so called because the Prophet entered by it on his night journey. It was named also the 'Gate of Funerals,' because they went out by it. This is the 'Gate of Jehoshaphat' of the Crusaders, but it does not appear to have been in existence when Mukaddasi and Nâṣir wrote their descriptions.

The table on the next page shows concisely the proposed identifications.

MU'KADDASI, 985 A.D.	NĀSIR-I-KHUSRAU, 1047 A.D.	MUJĪR AD DīN, 1496 A.D.	MODERN, 1888 A.D.
1. Bāb al Hittah.	Bāb al Hittah.	Bāb an Nabi.	Bāb an Nabi, below Bāb al Maghāribah (Plan, K).
2. Bawāb an Nabi.	Bāb an Nabi.	Gate of the Old Aksā.	Gate of the Old Aksā (Double Gate).
3. Gates of the Mihrāb Maryām.	Bāb al 'Ain (?) (Gate of the Spring).	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb at Taubah.	Single Gate (?), or Triple Gate (?).
4. Gates ar Rahmah.	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb at Taubah.	Bāb al Asbāt.	Bāb ar Rahmah, and Bāb at Taubah (Golden Gate). (Plan, N and O.)
5. Gate of the Birkat Bani Isra'il.	Bāb al Abwāb.	Bāb al Hittah.	Bāb al Asbāt (Plan, A).
6. Bāb al Asbāt.	Bāb al Asbāt.	Bāb al Dawātir.	Bāb al Hittah (Plan, B).
7. Hāshimite Gates.	Gate to the Sūfi's Cloisters.	Bāb al Ghawānimah.	Bāb al 'Atm (Plan, C).
8. Gate of al Walid.			Bāb al Ghawānimah (Plan, D).
9. Gate of Ibrahīm.	Bāb as Sakar (?).	Bāb an Nādhir.	Bāb an Nādhir (Plan, E).
10. Gate of Umm Khālid.		Bāb al Hadid, or Bāb al Kattānīn.	Bāb al Hadid (Plan, F), or Bāb al Kattānīn (Plan, G).
11. Bāb Dāud.	Bāb Dāud, Bāb as Sakīnah.	Bāb as Silsilah, Bāb as Sakīnah.	Bāb as Silsilah (Plan, I), Bāb as Salām.















